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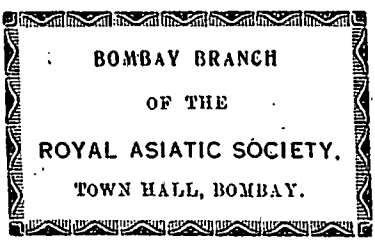

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A

CRITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

OF

ANTIENT GREECE.

BY

WILLIAM MURE

OF CALDWELL.

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A

CRITICAL HISTORY,

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BOOK II.

POETICAL PERIOD.—EPIC POETRY.

CHAP. XIII.

HOMER. STYLE OF THE POEMS. EPIC COMMONPLACE AND PARALLEL PASSAGE.

1. OF REITERATION, OR COMMONPLACE, IN POPULAR EPIC COMPOSITION.—2. ITS VALUE IN POETICAL STYLE.—3. EXAMPLES FROM THE HIGHER WALKS OF POETRY.—4. PARALLEL PASSAGE, AS DISTINCT FROM EPIC COMMONPLACE, IN HOMER.—5. CRITERIA FOR DRAWING THE DISTINCTION.—6. EXAMPLES FROM EACH POEM.

Of reiteration, or commonplace, in popular epic composition.

1. THE term Style, like various others in the vocabulary of modern criticism, is one of somewhat indefinite import. It will here be taken in its widest admissible sense, as denoting all those distinguishing features of the poems, in language, sentiment, or imagery, which do not properly rank under any one of the three previous heads of Action, Characters, or Divine mechanism.

As in the preceding chapter, the Iliad and Odyssey will here form the subject of joint consideration This arrangement becomes the more important, or even indispensable, in the present case, owing to the number of parallel passages in each poem, and the momentous bearing of those passages on the question of common authorship. Of the materials properly belonging to this head of inquiry a portion has

already been anticipated, especially in the chapters devoted to portraiture of character. Some of those texts will again require to be taken into account by whoever would do full justice to the argument of unity which they supply.

A preliminary question here offers itself, of vital importance to the ensuing analysis: How far those features of the poems which form its subject are to be considered as peculiar to Homer, how far as common to his age or school of poetry. This question resolves itself very much into another, relative to the nature and value of a peculiarity of Homeric style above frequently alluded to under the name of "epic repetition," or "commonplace," and which will here demand a somewhat closer examination.

This peculiarity, it must be observed, is not confined to Homer or to the poetry of the Greeks, but is common to the narrative composition, both in prose and verse, of other nations in a primitive state of society. It reflects in fact the simplicity of the age which relished it, as contrasted with the more studied art of refined periods of literature. It is exemplified, accordingly, in similar, perhaps still more striking forms, in the Hebrew Scriptures and in the ballad poetry of the modern middle ages.

When in the course of a prolonged narrative the same facts or descriptions require to be recapitulated, the usage of a more advanced stage of literature requires a certain variety in the terms employed, and the neglect of this rule exposes an author to the charge of dryness or tautology. The early Greek public was not so punctilious, but was contented in many cases with a repetition of the same words; and although a later, more fastidious taste may disdain

to conform to this method, yet the critical reader, far from being offended by it in the primitive Muse, appreciates it as a chief element of that nervous vigour of expression which forms a peculiar charm of her style. That this judgement is correct, it will not, in so far as such matters admit of tangible demonstration, be difficult to show.

The duty of diversifying the connecting commonplaces of a narrative, the modes for example of specifying, in the course of a long dialogue, the deposition and resumption of the discourse by the speakers, is often one of the most irksome to which the modern author is subjected. From these obstructions to the easy flow of his ideas the old poet was comparatively free. On the first few occasions where statements requiring repetition occurred, he instinctively selected such forms of expression as appeared most appropriate and euphonous. But the facility of varying these forms would hardly be in proportion to the frequency of their recurrence; nor would he be inclined severely to task his invention for the sake of such variety. So constant an effort to impart novelty to statements in themselves devoid of intrinsic poetical value would seem to him but imposing fetters on his genius, by forcing it to dwell on the mere mechanical element of his art, when bent on matters of higher poetical interest. He would, therefore, be content to reproduce the same idea in the same terms; not indeed with a slavish adherence to the same words, but under such partial modifications as his own taste, or incidental circumstances, might suggest.

But the old poet was not satisfied merely with such repetitions, the τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος, for example,

or τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε, as naturally offered themselves; he evidently takes pleasure in accumulating them. This tendency in Homer is chiefly observable in his dramatic management. One person, for instance, is intrusted by another with a commission, and receives instructions as to what he is to say or do. In the sequel, the fulfilment of his orders, whether by word or action, is recapitulated in the precise terms used by his employer. A modern poet would have been contented, in the second stage of the transaction, with simply informing his reader that the message had been delivered or the commission executed. Of the many such passages occurring in each poem, the mission of Minerva by Jupiter, in the second book of the Iliad, with directions to quell the tumult among the Greek troops, may be selected as an example. The goddess, having determined to employ Ulysses as the human agent for effecting this object, delivers her own injunctions to him in the very same words, with the same introductory reflexions, previously addressed by her father to herself.

Its value in poetical style.

2. It is always difficult to trace the more subtle mechanism by which the taste is regulated in nice questions of art or literature. There seems, however, to be no principle better founded in reason or experience, than that a just blending of uniformity and variety is a chief source of excellence in every branch of elegant art. The art of versification itself is based on this principle. Rhythm, still more rhyme in the modern sense, is a sacrifice of variety to uniformity, for the sake of harmony in the arrangement of words and sounds. The early epic poet extended this principle to the arrangement of phrases and ideas; and as the modern public takes pleasure in the

recurrence of the same numbers and terminations, the primitive audience delighted in the recurrence, on appropriate occasions, of the same verses or passages. The effect is similar to that of the burden or chorus in lyric poetry, an expedient so popular in the national songs of every country and age. As Homer's preference for the dramatic mode of conducting his action imparts to many portions of the Iliad and Odyssey the spirit of a scene in a tragedy, so the repetition of harmonious verses or texts often contributes much to that choric effect which he has plainly been desirous of infusing into other portions of each work. The primitive epopee and the choric ode being both destined for public recital, the recurrence in either of spirited passages already familiar to the poet's hearers also tended, apart from its musical effect, to secure their more immediate personal interest in the performance. Another obvious advantage of the practice was the aid it afforded to the memory, by supplying the reciter with a sort of pause or restingplace for meditating on the less trite and easy portions of his task. The recapitulation of messages by the parties concerned also conduced to his favourite object of transferring the conduct of the action from himself to his heroes.

It is remarkable that many of the passages in which this peculiarity is most broadly exemplified are descriptive of objects of that homely character which may appear least adapted for poetical embellishment; such as the toilet of the heroes, the preparation of their meals, and other matters of everyday life. Yet it is evident, as well from the frequency of their recurrence, as their length and precision of detail, that such descriptions were agreeable to the

poet's audience. This forms another peculiarity of the primitive epic Muse, which, however repugnant to modern practice, gratifies rather than offends even modern taste in the page of Homer. The apparent anomaly has been explained, and to a certain extent with reason, by the charm of classical or antiquarian association attached to the manners represented. There can, indeed, be no doubt that the interest which a graphic description of any popular custom, by a contemporary author, excites in the public of a remote posterity, is often in the ratio of the homeliness rather than the dignity of the objects described; just as the shelves, counters, and domestic utensils of the shops and houses of Pompeii, or the scribbling of the populace on the walls of the streets, awaken even a livelier emotion in the classical traveller than the porticos, temples, or theatres of that wonderful city. But this explanation, however applicable to the modern public, cannot obviously hold good of the audience for whom the passages were originally composed. To them, the description of one of their own meals, or suits of wearing apparel, was no matter either of novelty or curiosity. The peculiarity therefore, in their case, requires to be otherwise accounted for.

It seems but to reflect a taste more or less common in every simple state of society. The mere embellishment, by means of imitative art, of objects of domestic or familiar interest, is at all times a source of gratification to popular taste. Hence it is, that, in the present day, the inferior order of dilettanti prefer a picture of a greengrocer's shop or a Dutch alehouse, by Mieris or Teniers, to the Last Supper or the School of Athens. But in an age when sim-

plicity of manners and tastes was common to all classes, and before the different orders of composition had been defined and distinguished, the same rule would extend to the art of the poet in portraying and adorning the inferior as well as the nobler occupations or pursuits of his hearers. Apart, indeed, from all influence of classical association, even the modern reader experiences a certain charm in the spirit and harmony of many of these descriptions, which may enable him to appreciate their still livelier effect on those to whom they were originally addressed; the delight, for instance, of the old mariner, on hearing the minute details of his former occupation adorned by all the imitative graces of poetical diction with which Homer has so frequently dressed them up. Accordingly, there is scarcely an object of familiar interest in his own day which the poet has not occasionally ennobled by such descriptive amplification. This is, in fact, a characteristic of popular story-telling in every age, and numerous examples, closely parallel to that above referred to in Homer's treatment of the primitive art of navigation, might be added, not merely from the text of Scripture, but from popular modern romances, whose authors take pleasure in circumstantial descriptions of the working or rigging of ships, such as can be intelligible but to a limited portion of their readers.[1]

[1] The practice has been parodied by Swift in the opening of the second part of Gulliver's travels. The above remarks, with others subjoined in the sequel of the text, may help us to appreciate the value of Hermann's argument (De iteratis Homer.: Leipz. 1840), that such repetitions are infallible evidence of the works in which they occur having been originally destined solely for oral recitation, and composed, consequently, before the familiar use of writing. This rule, if good at all, would extend to the Old and New Testament (Genes. xli. 1. sqq., conf. 17. sqq.; Kings and Chron. passim; Acts, x. 9. sqq., conf. xi. 5. sqq.; x. 4., conf.

Examples from the higher walks of poetry.

3. But the value of this primitive epic usage is also displayed in a higher class of poetical mechanism. It has been remarked by writers on the Sublime, that objects not individually distinguished for grandeur or beauty may awaken admiration or awe by the uniformity of their repetition. "A single sound of some strength," says Burke, "if repeated at certain intervals, has a grand effect;" and he extends the remark to a continuous series of visible objects. This doctrine he illustrates, as to sound, by a succession of cannon shots, the beat of a drum, or the tolling of a bell; in space, by prolonged rows of columns or arches. The rule may be transferred to the recurrence of similar forms of expression in poetical narrative. Where a series of kindred facts or objects is carried steadily to a climax or catastrophe, the effect may be greatly enhanced by uniformity in the terms of their description. These, however, are questions which a single pointed example will always better illustrate than volumes of disquisition. The passage here subjoined, while familiar probably to every reader, is perhaps the earliest as well as noblest of its class. In the opening chapter of the Book of Job, the sudden fall of the patriarch from the height of worldly prosperity to abject misery is thus described:

And there was a day when his sons and daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house.

And there came a messenger unto Job, and said: the oxen were ploughing and the asses feeding beside them, and the Sabæans fell upon them and took them away; yea, they have slain the servants with the edge of the sword, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said: the fire of God is fallen from heaven, and hath burnt up

x. 30.; ix. 2. sqq., conf. xxii. 5. sqq.), and many other prose compositions, both antient and modern, in primitive style.

the sheep and the servants, and consumed them, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said: the Chaldeans made out three bands, and fell upon the camels, and have carried them away, yea, and have slain the servants with the edge of the sword, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

While he was yet speaking, there came also another, and said: thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house; and behold there came a great wind from the wilderness, and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell upon the young men, and they are dead, and I only am escaped alone to tell thee.

Then Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head[1], and fell down upon the ground. . . . .

There can be no doubt that the recurrence of the same forms of expression in the connecting clauses of the narrative contributes greatly to the unparallelled splendour of this passage. It is the reiterated uniformity of the announcements which chiefly brings home to the mind the overwhelming effect of the series of calamities on the sufferer, and renders so electrifying the transition at the close, from the stupefaction at first created, to his paroxysm of desperate but submissive woe. The effect may be compared to that of successive blows of increasing strength, inflicted by some stunning weapon on the head, spreading at first over the frame a torpor, which, on their being repeated to a certain excess, gives place to violent convulsion. Were the studied varieties of phraseology with which the Muse of a politer age would have diversified the fatal messages to be substituted for this simple reiteration, the whole charm would be dissolved. It is evident, on

[1] It seems evident that here the right interpretation of the original, preferred by many old commentators, is "tore his hair." Shaving the head is a deliberate act, requiring time, and quite out of place consequently in this description.

the other hand, that no modern poet could venture to resort to the same means, or succeed, consequently, in producing the same result. There cannot be a more striking proof, both of the mode in which the refinements of poetical art deprive its professors of its best materials, and of that anomaly in the faculty of taste which admits of our admiring, through the force of sympathy, in one case, what we condemn or ridicule in another.[1]

While neither Iliad nor Odyssey supplies any passage closely parallel to the above, nor perhaps does their subject afford opening for any similar description, each poem contains numbers equally illustrative of the value of recurring phrases in securing precision and emphasis to the details of a narrative. Such is the succession of introductory forms in the Shield of Achilles and the Descent to Hades; such, to quote a more tangible example, are the spirited lines describing the embarkation of Ulysses and his crew at the various stages of their maritime wanderings, repeated from time to time in the course of the hero's narrative, and imparting, by their periodical recurrence, both distinctness to the vicissitudes of the voyage, and life and rapidity to its course: IX. 103.

οἱ δ' αἶψ' εἰσβαινον, καὶ επὶ κληῖσι κάθιζον·
ἑξῆς δ' ἑζόμενοι πολιὴν ἅλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς.[2]

[1] A curious illustration of this remark may be found in a modern heroic epopee of some celebrity, the Italia liberata of Trissino; whose attempts to give Homeric effect to his descriptions, by aid of Homeric repetition and Homeric minuteness, are always ludicrous, unless where they become offensively indecent. See libro I. 55. sqq., conf. 84. sqq.; 103. sqq.; lib. III. p. 102. sqq. (ed. Paris, 1729), conf. Iliad. XIV. 292.; lib. IV. 12. sqq., conf. 77. sqq.

[2] Conf. 179. 471. 563., IV. 579., XI. 637., XII. 146. 180., XV. 221. 548. See also, in the same series of narrative, IX. 161—168. 556., X. 183. 476., XII. 29., XIX. 424.; IX. 62. 105. 565., X. 77. 133.; IX. 82., X. 28. 80., XII. 447.

Peculiar, on the other hand, to Homer is the skill with which he has availed himself of this courtesy of primitive art in giving force and precision to his pictures of human character. Sometimes, as has been seen, the distinctive temper or disposition of the individual is stereotyped, as it were, by certain congenial forms of expression or sentiment, which he is made to utter, from time to time, in an easy and natural manner, on fitting occasions. Sometimes modes of action equally natural and appropriate are similarly embodied in uniform or closely parallel phraseology. The same agency has been no less effectively employed in both poems to characterise the more delicate affections or passions, not as peculiar to individuals, but common to the species at large.

Parallel passage, as distinct from epic commonplace, in Homer.

4. Attention must now be directed somewhat more narrowly to the question: How far such repetition in the two poems, whether as a general feature of their style or in special passages, is to be considered as representing the genius of their author, how far the manner of his age or school of poetry. The want of some such critical distinction has been one of the most serious obstacles to accurate views in the entire controversial element of Homeric criticism. While, on the one hand, the sceptical commentators, by comprehending under one sweeping denomination of epic mannerism the whole mass of cases in which this feature displays itself, have summarily disembarrassed themselves of one of the chief obstacles to their doctrine, their opponents, by either conceding or acquiescing in the propriety of this decision, have committed the double error, of not only throwing aside one of their own best weapons of defence, but allowing their adversaries to wield it to their discomfiture.

It will be admitted that the most effectual means of estimating unity of origin in any work are the parallel passages of its text. The productions of poetical genius, especially genius of the highest order, cannot fail to be distinguished by marked eccentricities or peculiarities from the efforts of the inferior brothers of the art. But, in a poet of Homer's age, such peculiarities would necessarily be embodied, in a great proportion of cases, in the same or similar forms of expression; or, in other words, the parallel passages which exhibit the proper features of Homer's art must range themselves in great part under this same general head of "Homeric commonplace." It is evident, therefore, how indispensable some rule of distinction must here be to a right estimate of his style. To confound these parallel passages, so characteristic of its exclusive power and spirit, with the mere conventional routine of epic mannerism, were to shut our eyes to the brightest mirror in which the higher excellence of his genius is reflected.

The texts in which the correspondence here in question can reasonably be ascribed to such conventional usage, or the mannerism of a school, must be limited solely or chiefly to objects or ideas equally within the apprehension of all the disciples of that school; to the wording of certain turns of the narrative or dialogue, or to familiar matters of description and illustrative detail. That much of the habitual phraseology in the Iliad and Odyssey is of this nature there can be no doubt, being common to the works of other early epic poets. There exists, however, no evidence in any particular case, that it was already the manner of a school in Homer's own day; it being certain, not only that his poems are

the most ancient monuments of their class, but that they were adopted as models of obsequious imitation by his successors. Hence, as has also happened with some of the fathers of modern poetry, whose popularity caused their works to be received as standards of excellence, modes of expression originally proper to Homer himself would become in the sequel common to his disciples or plagiarists. It is, therefore, very probable, that many, even of those texts now habitually, and not unreasonably, classed as epic commonplace, may shadow forth, in the vigour and harmony of their expression, the same high order of inventive talent displayed in passages of a nobler range of poetical conception.

Criteria for drawing the distinction.

5. But when such repetitions are found extending to the higher philosophy of poetry, to that deep knowledge of human nature and character, to those lofty eccentricities, in a word, which distinguish the great original genius from the ordinary race of versifiers, the case is different. Here the reiteration forfeits altogether its character of vulgar commonplace, and assumes that of parallel passage. That touches of such force and feeling as are conveyed in many of these texts, embodying the noblest conceptions of Homer's genius, recurring always on suitable occasions, with so easy an unconsciousness of manner, and under the same features of genuine originality, should be but draughts from a common fund of poetical "shreds and patches," the bequest of an inferior race of epic formalists, is incredible. Take, for example, the ejaculation with which Achilles is wont to dismiss a painful or mortifying subject:

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν, κ.τ.λ.[1]

[1] Supra, Ch. viii. § 3.

This trait, so graphically shadowing forth one of the more delicate features of so extraordinary a character, renewed at widely different intervals, slightly varied to suit the occasion, and with so native a simplicity of effect that the severest scrutiny cannot detect a symptom of greater or less originality in one case than in another, is yet, after all, like the αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα or τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος, but a Homeric form. It has, consequently, never attracted the notice of a single commentator, as illustrative of its author's skill in portraying character, still less of unity in the composition of the poem. Yet the attention even of the mere technical grammarian might have been drawn to the following considerations: first, that the passage occurs in the Iliad alone, among the various extant works of the Homeric school; secondly, that it is there confined to Achilles alone; and, thirdly, that the word προτετύχθαι, the most prominent of its phrases, occurs but these three times in the entire Greek vocabulary. Similar is the case with the twenty-four appeals of Agamemnon or his apologists to the influence of Ate. Their very frequency, and the almost exclusive connexion they establish between the destinies of Atrides and that goddess, instead of being appreciated by the critics as individualising the hero's character and the poet's art, have insured their being passed over among the general mass of epic mannerism. These remarks admit of more or less application to the portraits of Diomed, Telemachus, and other leading characters of each poem.[1]

But, besides the parallel passages of this more significant nature, there is still another homelier class, distinguished by equally sure criteria from the

[1] Supra, Ch. viii. § 5. sqq.

common routine of repetition, and representing the unity of Homer's genius, the more vividly perhaps, that they do not necessarily represent its excellence.

The establishment of any phrase as a conventional form implies, as already remarked, the matter it describes to be of more or less habitual recurrence. Let us however suppose, that, in a long series of narrative, some object or idea no way partaking of this familiar character, some incidental, perhaps indifferent, fact, turn of thought, or moral sentiment, may yet happen to present itself on more occasions than one, perhaps at widely different intervals. Let us assume it to be embodied, on each occasion, in the same characteristic form of language, slightly modified perhaps as circumstances might suggest, yet so similar on the whole as to convey to the mind an immediate impression of general identity. In such a case the correspondence could not obviously be the result of conventional usage. There would remain the following alternatives: chance, plagiarism, or the natural disposition of the same mind to express a similar idea in a similar manner. The first of these alternatives the very nature of the texts about to be quoted will set aside. The second is excluded both by the internal evidence of originality in the style of those texts, and by the obvious improbability that, in respect to ideas or forms of expression distinguished in themselves by no very striking or peculiar features, any poet of ordinary spirit should have been at pains to filch from the stores of a neighbour what he might so easily have produced from his own. The third alternative therefore, unity of author, would alone remain. This, however, is

another case only to be clearly understood by aid of example. In selecting from the many which each poem supplies, a preference will be given to those where the parallel extends to the text of both, as bearing on the question of Homer's unity in its broadest shape.

Examples from each poem.

6. In the funeral games of Patroclus, a difference having arisen as to the distribution of prizes in the chariot race, Antilochus, one of the competitors, proposes that Achilles should present his opponent Eumelus with some other object of value, in place of that which he himself claimed with better right. The acquiescence of the hero in this suggestion is expressed in the following lines: XXIII. 558.

'Αντίλοχ', εἰ μὲν δή με κελεύεις οἴκοθεν ἄλλο
Εὐμήλῳ ἐπιδοῦναι, ἐγὼ δέ κε καὶ τὸ τελέσσω·
δώσω οἱ θώρηκα, τὸν 'Αστεροπαῖον ἀπηύρων,
χάλκεον, ᾧ πέρι χεῦμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέροιο
ἀμφιδεδίνηται· πολέος δέ οἱ ἄξιος ἔσται.

The simple presentation of a gift might perhaps form the subject of some conventional phrase; but that the presentation, under the above peculiar circumstances, of an object of a peculiar description, involving the mention of certain events and names, could ever have become so, is hardly conceivable. When, therefore, we find the same turn of expression renewed, in the precise number of lines, on the only other occasion where the circumstances are at all analogous, the conclusion is unavoidable: that the correspondence exhibits the spontaneous recurrence, to the same mind, of a similar form of words to express a similar idea. The case in point is where Euryalus, the young Phæacian chief who had insulted Ulysses,

acquiesces in the order of Alcinoüs to make amends by a present to the hero: VIII. 401.

Ἀλκίνοε κρεῖον, πάντων ἀριδείκετε λαῶν,
τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν ξεῖνον ἀρέσσομαι, ὡς σὺ κελεύεις·
δώσω οἱ τόδ' ἄορ παγχάλκεον, ᾧ ἔπι κώπη
ἀργυρέη, κολεὸν δὲ νεοπρίστου ἐλέφαντος
ἀμφιδεδίνηται, πολέος δέ οἱ ἄξιον ἔσται.

In the sixth book of the Iliad, Helen, addressing Hector in a moment of bitter mortification, wishes herself dead. This desire is expressed in five lines of a peculiar strain of imagery, to the effect, that it would have been better for her at her birth to have been swept from the earth by hurricanes, or engulfed in the waves of the sea, than to have been reserved for her present fate. The whole invocation is marked by a tone of mingled grief and self-reproach, in fine keeping with the temper and habits of the suppliant. In the Odyssey, a similar prayer is uttered by Penelope, in terms which are but a recast of the same passage, adapted to the different character of the heroine, a tone of plaintive languor being substituted for the remorseful petulance of Helen. The address is here to Diana, as angel of death. The mourner awakes in the morning to a renewed sense of her desolate condition; and, sitting up in her bed, invokes the goddess to finish her sufferings. The two passages are here collated:

Il. VI. 344.

δᾶερ ἐμεῖο, κυνὸς κακομηχάνου, ὀκρυοέσσης,
ὥς μ' ὄφελ' ἤματι τῷ ὅτε με πρῶτον τέκε μήτηρ,
οἴχεσθαι προφέρουσα κακὴ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα
εἰς ὄρος, ἢ εἰς κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
ἔνθα με κῦμ' ἀπόερσε πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι.

Od. xx. 61.

Ἄρτεμι, πότνια θεὰ, θύγατερ Διὸς, αἴθε μοι ἤδη
ἰὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλοῦσ' ἐκ θυμὸν ἕλοιο,
αὐτίκα νῦν·[1] ἢ ἔπειτά μ' ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα
οἴχοιτο προφέρουσα κατ' ἠερόεντα κέλευθα,
ἐν προχοῇς δὲ βάλοι ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο.

The poetical identity of these texts is obvious. The verbal identity, on the other hand, is so slight, as to preclude all suspicion of vulgar commonplace; even supposing the etiquette of epic art could have prescribed a set form for invocations of death by distressed females. With the exception of the equal number of verses, and of a single line or half-line in each passage, the correspondence is not in the letter but the spirit; in the peculiar vein of imagery, and the plaintive flow of numbers, as modified to suit the genius of the speakers.

Attention has already been called to the two following verses of the speech addressed by Achilles to the ambassadors of Agamemnon: ix. 312.

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν,
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ.

This is one of the many pithy sentences of Homer, condensing in a few words maxims of fundamental morality which pages of didactic philosophy could never bring home with equal force to the apprehension. Such a denunciation, prominently put forth in the exordium of the noblest effort of the eloquence of Achilles, could hardly be a scrap of trite commonplace. It is however once reproduced in the Odyssey, in its full spirit, the letter being slightly varied to suit the case, where Ulysses, in his disguise of

[1] Conf. Od. xviii. 203.

mendicant, indignantly repels the doubt expressed by Eumæus of the veracity of his tale: XIV. 156.

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσι
γίγνεται, ὃς πενίῃ εἴκων ἀπατήλια βάζει.

It were certainly a marvellous coincidence, that two independant authors, each on the single occasion where he uses the expression "hateful as the gates of hell," should apply it to the vice of lying.

Still more curious perhaps in its identity, as in its variety, is the parallel in the two following passages, one from each poem, concerning the destinies of their respective protagonists:

Il. XX. 126.

ἵνα μή τι μετὰ Τρώεσσι πάθῃσι
σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε τὰ πείσεται, ἄσσα οἱ Αἶσα
γεινομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ·. .
εἰ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς . . . .

Od. VII. 195.

μηδέ τι μεσσηγύς γε κακὸν καὶ πῆμα πάθῃσι,
πρίν γε τὸν ἧς γαίης ἐπιβήμεναι· ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα
πείσεται ἄσσα οἱ Αἶσα Κατακλῶθές τε βαρεῖαι
γεινομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ·
εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων . . . .

Another singularly delicate example of the same association of ideas suggesting like forms of expression, once in each poem, occurs in the third book of the Iliad and the first of the Odyssey. In the former place, after the Trojan elders had remarked concerning Helen: III. 156. sqq.

οὐ νέμεσις, Τρῶας καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν, . . .

Priam rejoins, addressing himself to the heroine:

οὔτι μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν,
οἵ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν.

In the Odyssey the substance of both texts is combined in the reply of Telemachus to his mother, who had chid the bard for singing the, to her, afflicting song of Troy: I. 347.

οὔ νύ τ' ἀοιδοὶ
αἴτιοι· ἀλλά ποθι Ζεὺς αἴτιος, ὅστε δίδωσιν
ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῆσιν ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν ἑκάστῳ.
τούτῳ δ' οὐ νέμεσις Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον ἀείδειν.

Pandarus, the Lycian archer, on the failure of several shots aimed at distinguished Greek warriors, vents his spleen in bitter maledictions of his weapon: V. 212.

εἰ δέ κε νοστήσω, καὶ ἐσόψομαι ὀφθαλμοῖσι
πατρίδ' ἐμὴν ἄλοχόν τε καὶ ὑψερεφὲς μέγα δῶμα,
αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φώς,
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τάδε τόξα φαεινῷ ἐν πυρὶ θείην.

In the Odyssey the same emphatic denunciation, under such modification as the case required, is directed by the disguised Ulysses against his son's want of spirit, in a speech already noticed in treating of the young prince's character, and which is itself but one continued series of illustrations of the present subject: XVI. 92. sqq.

η μάλα μευ καταδάπτετ' ἀκούοντος φίλον ἦτορ
Od. III. 212. sqq. οἷά φατε μνηστῆρας ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάασθαι
ἐν μεγάροις, ἀέκητι σέθεν τοιούτου ἐόντος!
εἰπέ μοι, ἦε ἑκὼν ὑποδάμνασαι, ἤ σέ γε λαοὶ
ἐχθαίρουσ' ἀνὰ δῆμον, ἐπισπόμενοι θεοῦ ὀμφῇ;

Od. xviii. 140.
ἦ τι κασιγνήτοις ἐπιμέμφεαι, οἵσί περ ἀνὴρ
μαρναμένοισι πέποιθε, καὶ εἰ μέγα νείκος ὄρηται ;

Il. v. 212. sqq.
αἲ γὰρ ἐγὼν οὕτω νέος εἴην τῷδ' ἐπὶ θυμῷ,
ἢ παῖς ἐξ Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος, ἠὲ καὶ αὐτὸς,
αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φώς,

Od. xxi. 262.
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ κείνοισι κακὸν πάντεσσι γενοίμην,
ἐλθὼν ἐς μέγαρον Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος.
εἰ δ' αὖ με πληθυῖ δαμασαίατο μοῦνον ἐόντα,

Od. xx. 316–319.
βουλοίμην κ' ἐν ἐμοῖσι κατακτάμενος μεγάροισι
τεθνάμεν, ἢ τάδε γ' αἰὲν ἀεικέα ἔργ' ὁράασθαι,
ξείνους τε στυφελιζομένους, δμωάς τε γυναῖκας
ῥυστάζοντας ἀεικελίως κατὰ δώματα καλά !

This passage deserves attention on its own individual merits, as one of the finest specimens of Homer's poetical rhetoric, combining the martial fire of the Iliad with the ethic terseness of the Odyssey. As no address could be more appropriate to the occasion, so none can bear on its own face more genuine evidence of originality; and yet, as will appear by reference to the marginal citations, there is scarcely a line of it which has not its parallel, either to the letter, or in the spirit, in some portion of one or other poem.

It is impossible to suppose this noble address a mere cento of scraps of epic mannerism. It clearly displays the operation of the same genius working up a new creation, by a new disposition of the same well-selected stock of materials.[1]

With the latter part of the passage may be further

[1] Among the various other more or less curious examples that might be cited of such recurrence of the same or similar, but not commonplace, passages, expressive of the same or cognate ideas of an ordinary or familiar character, may be compared: Il. i. 85. sqq. with Od. xvi. 436. sqq.; Il. xviii. 511. sq. with xxii. 118. 120., and Od. xv. 412.

collated the following series of texts, marked by the same Homeric energy, and varied with the same Homeric tact:

Od. xi. 489.

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

Od. xii. 350.

βούλομ' ἅπαξ πρὸς κῦμα χανὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι,
ἢ δηθὰ στρεύγεσθαι, ἐὼν ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ!

Il. xv. 611.

βέλτερον, ἢ ἀπολέσθαι ἕνα χρόνον, ἠὲ βιῶναι,
ἢ δηθὰ στρεύγεσθαι, ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτῆτι!

CHAP. XIV.

HOMER. STYLE. ITS ETHIC ELEMENT.

1. PHILOSOPHY OF HOMER'S STYLE. ART OF DRAMATISING THOUGHT. — 2. ART OF DESCRIBING THOUGHT. — 3. AFFECTION OF SYMPATHY. — 4. AFFECTION OF GRIEF. — 5. AS DISPLAYED IN DIFFERENT CHARACTERS. — 6. VANITY OF HUMAN LIFE. — 7. FORCE OF ETHIC CONTRAST. COMIC ELEMENT OF HOMER'S STYLE. PLAY OF WORDS, OR FUN. CONVERSATIONAL HUMOUR. — 8. HOMERIC TEST, OR TRIAL.

Philosophy of Homer's style.

1. THE importance of the distinction drawn in the foregoing chapter will be apparent throughout the following analysis. Almost every attempt to illustrate the more delicate characteristics of Homer's language, sentiment, or imagery, will involve a collation of parallel passages, and, in so far, of epic commonplaces. So that, in fact, were the poems to be judged by the prevailing doctrine relative to this feature of poetical usage, much of what constitutes their acknowledged superiority to all other works of their class would reflect little more credit on their author, than the mere putting together of second-hand materials, prepared and numbered for his use. Attention will first be directed to certain modes of expression, which, as embodying some of the higher intellectual attributes of Homer, will here be comprised under the head of the Philosophy of his Style.

Art of dramatising thought.

Exclusively proper to Homer is his art of dramatising, not merely action, but thought; not merely the intercourse between man and man, but between man and himself, between his passions and his judgement. The mechanism of which the poet here chiefly

avails himself is, to exhibit the person under the influence of excited feelings as communing with, or, as Homer defines it, addressing, his own mind; discussing the subject of his solicitude under its various aspects, as a question at issue between his judgement and himself. The conflicting feelings are thus, as it were, personified; while the current of the language, often the very sound of the words, is so nicely adapted to the turns of the self-dialogue, that the breast of the man seems laid open before us, and, in the literal sense of the term, we read his thoughts as they flit through his bosom. The pleasure which Homer takes in this figure of epic rhetoric is as remarkable as his skill in its management. It recurs in numberless instances throughout both poems, under such happy adaptation to characters or circumstances, as to obviate all risk of satiety in the reader. Yet it is one of the cases in which the poet most freely resorts to his familiar expedient of conventional phraseology. The structure of these texts hinges chiefly on three expressive forms. The first is the introduction to the soliloquy:

ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ον μεγαλήτορα θυμόν.

The second is the transition from hesitation to resolution:

ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός;

The third, under two varieties, resumes the general course of the narrative:

ἕως ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
τόφρα . . . .

or

ὣδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι. . .

The first is rarely, if ever, omitted or varied. The second is confined to cases where the rapid approach of the crisis required an equally rapid decision, or where some ignoble expedient which had at first suggested itself is discarded. The third admits of several elegant variations of the above more standard forms. Among the many parallel cases, the two following, one from each poem, are well adapted, by their conciseness and simplicity, for immediate illustration.

In the third great battle of the Iliad, the Greek army is routed and flies. Ulysses vainly endeavours to rally the fugitives; and, on looking round, finds himself alone, and on the point of being encircled by the Trojan phalanx: XI. 403.

ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω! μέγα μὲν κακὸν αἴ κε φέβωμαι,
πληθὺν ταρβήσας· τὸ δὲ ῥίγιον αἴ κεν ἁλώω
μοῦνος· τούς δ' ἄλλους Δαναοὺς ἐφόβησε Κρονίων
ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός;
οἶδα γὰρ ὅττι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολέμοιο,
ὃς δέ κ' ἀριστεύῃσι μάχῃ ἔνι, τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεὼ
ἑστάμεναι κρατερῶς, ἤτ' ἔβλητ' ἤτ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον.
ἕως ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν
τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώων στίχες ἦλυθον ἀσπιστάων,
ἔλσαν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι. . .

The scene is here painted rather than described. How precisely are the thoughts those by which the breast of a valiant warrior would be agitated at such a moment: how well does the hurried abruptness of the sentences in the first half of the passage represent the rapidity with which the dangers of the

crisis would be passed in review: how fine the transition at the close, from hesitation to martial resolve!

With this passage may be collated the following from the Odyssey, where the same hero, cast by the waves naked and exhausted on an unknown shore, revolves in his mind, while reposing on the sea-weed, the dangers he may have to encounter in this new scene of adventure: v. 464.

ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω! τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται·
εἰ μέν κ' ἐν ποταμῷ δυσκηδέα νύκτα φυλάξω,
μή μ' ἄμυδις στίβη τε κακὴ καὶ θῆλυς ἐέρση,
ἐξ ὀλιγηπελίης δαμάσῃ κεκαφηότα θυμόν· . .
εἰ δέ κεν ἐς κλιτὺν ἀναβὰς καὶ δάσκιον ὕλην,
θάμνοις ἐν πυκινοῖσι καταδραθῶ, εἴ με μεθείῃ
ῥῖγος καὶ κάματος, γλυκερὸς δέ μοι ὕπνος ἐπέλθῃ,
δείδω μὴ θήρεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γένωμαι.
ὣς ἄρα οἱ Φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,
βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν εἰς ὕλην.

The same series of adventures[1] contains other similar texts, offering in some points a still closer parallel to that cited from the Iliad.

But the finest examples of this kind of dramatic mechanism are in the successive encounters of Agenor and Hector with Achilles.[2] The passages are too long for citation; but the reader who would rightly appreciate the evidence of parallel usage, as bearing on the authorship of the poems, would do well to collate them, in themselves, and with others similar of either poem. Each of the Trojan heroes is repre-

[1] 298. sqq. 355. sqq. 407. sqq.; conf. Il. xvii. 90. sqq.
[2] Il. xxi. 552. sqq., xxii. 98. sqq.

sented in face of his terrible adversary, revolving in his mind, or, as the poet has it, "consulting his own great-hearted soul," what was to be done in so fearful an emergency; and the various courses suggested, with their respective feasibilities, difficulties, dangers, are reviewed in a succession of abrupt and hurried questions, with the usual contrast between the vacillation of the commencement and the bold determination at the close. The train of thought in the mind of Hector also reflects some of the more prominent traits of his character. His first idea is flight. Here his pride interferes. He reverts with bitter repentance to his late vaunts to Polydamas, and the reproaches to be endured from his countrymen were he now meanly to shrink from a danger which he then affected to despise. Death were better than such indignity! But on the advance of Pelides his courage again breaks down. He now thinks of supplicating quarter under pledge of redress to the Greeks. The wandering hurry of the ensuing verses realises with astonishing effect the rapid precision with which the mind, even in the most desperate emergency, will survey the minutest details of expedients to be adopted or results anticipated. The act of submission, the words, the very gestures, by which he might propitiate the wrath, or tempt the avarice, of the fierce Myrmidon; the terms of the treaty, the penalties, the sacrifices, the oaths; all flit across his mind in crowded succession. This vision of recreant self-preservation is dispelled by a brilliant transition to better thoughts, in the line which, on such occasions, gives the decisive turn to the mental drama:

ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός! . .

In the parallel self-dialogue of Agenor, the flitting of the mind over all the vicissitudes, localities, scenery, of the meditated flight, concealment, and return to quarters, is shadowed forth with even still more magic effect.

The value of these forms consists greatly in the emphatic power of certain peculiarly Homeric phrases for the emotions called into activity. Ὀχθέω signifies any deep mental affection. Διελέξατο, a word never occurring in Homer but in the verse above cited, is the verb reflexive of the noun "self-dialogue," which term better expresses the spirit of these passages than the more familiar one of soliloquy. Ὀρμαίνω denotes the rushing of thought to and fro in a mind violently agitated. The importance of these and other cognate expressions in their bearing on the unity of the poet's genius will further appear in the sequel.

Art of describing thought.

2. The skill with which Homer, in his narrative capacity, describes the workings of the human breast, is no less peculiar to himself, than his method of portraying them through his dramatic agency. Here, too, as a general rule, an introductory line announces the agitated state of the mind. Then follows a description of the expedients which present themselves. A third clause announces the resolution adopted. Here, also, the value of the forms depends greatly on certain words of pointedly significant sound and sense. The first is μερμηρίζω, untranslatable, like ὀχθέω, by any single English term, but denoting anxious meditation, or fluctuation of mind. The second δοάζομαι, equally unprovided with an English synonyme, expresses the decision arrived at, after much hesitation, and with still lurking doubt of its propriety. The word occurs (with a single exception) exclusively in the combi-

nation δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι, which may be rendered: "it seemed on the whole for the best;" dubie visum est. Examples are subjoined of the more familiar varieties of parallel texts:

Il. XIII. 455.

Δηΐφοβος δὲ δίανδιχα μερμήριξεν,
ἦ τινά που Τρώων ἑταρίσσαιτο μεγαθύμων,
ἅψ ἀναχωρήσας, ἢ πειρήσαιτο καὶ οἷος.
ὧδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,
βῆναι ἐπ' Αἰνείαν.

Od. VI. 141.

ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν Ὀδυσσεύς,
ἦ γούνων λίσσοιτο λαβὼν εὐώπεα κούρην,
ἦ αὕτως ἐπέεσσιν ἀποσταδὰ μειλιχίοισιν . . . .
ὡς ἄρα οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,
λίσσεσθαι ἐπέεσσι.

In the sixteenth book of the Iliad Jupiter directs the course of the battle: 647.

πολλὰ μάλ' ἀμφὶ φόνῳ Πατρόκλου μερμηρίζων,
ἦ ἤδη καὶ κεῖνον ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ . . . .
χαλκῷ δηώσῃ, ἀπό τ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἕληται,
ἦ ἔτι καὶ πλεόνεσσιν ὀφέλλειεν πόνον αἰπύν.
ὧδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι.

In the Odyssey, after the death of the suitors, the trembling bard: XXII. 333.

δίχα δὲ φρεσὶ μερμήριζεν,
ἦ ἐκδὺς μεγάροιο Διὸς μεγάλου ποτὶ βωμὸν
ἑρκείου ἵζοιτο τετυγμένον, ἔνθ' ἄρα πολλὰ
Λαέρτης Ὀδυσεύς τε βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρί' ἔκαιον,
ἦ γούνων λίσσοιτο προσαΐξας Ὀδυσῆα.
ὧδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι.[1] . . . .

[1] Conf. Il. I. 189., II. 3., VIII. 167., XIV. 159.; Od. X. 50., XVI. 74., XVIII. 90.

Considering the striking character and frequent recurrence of these kindred forms, their occasional employment might naturally have been expected in other works ranked by modern critics as jointly representing the "common epic genius." Yet in the five or six thousand lines to which that common privilege is held to attach, there is not only no approach to any such modes of expression, but the very phrases ὀχθέω, μερμηρίζω, δοάζομαι, to which may be added πορφύρω, and some others of cognate power still to be noticed, constituting the pith and marrow of the passages, are confined (with a single exception in the case of ὀχθέω[1]) to the Iliad and Odyssey alone among the productions of the early epic Muse.[2] In regard to a portion, and perhaps not the least expressive of their number, Homer's exclusive property extends from the epic vocabulary to the language at large.[3] It would almost appear as if they had been created, had flourished, and become extinct, with the genius which alone possessed the faculty of so vividly apprehending the images they help to animate.

Sometimes the play of inward emotion, instead of a dialogue between the man and his mind, is described with like dramatic effect as a conflict

[1] Hesiod. Theog. 558.

[2] Ὀχθέω is used by Homer (with two exceptions, in the participle form ὀχθήσας) twenty-seven times; eighteen in the Iliad, nine in the Odyssey: μερμηρίζω thirty-seven times; ten in the Iliad, twenty-seven in the Odyssey: πορφύρω five times; twice in the Iliad, thrice in the Odyssey: δοάζομαι eleven times (ten of these in the form ἐοάσσατο) four times in the Iliad, seven in the Odyssey: διελέξατο (five times) is confined to the Iliad.

[3] The same may probably be said in substance, if not to the letter, of the remainder; which, when occurring in authors of a later period, are used in a mere spirit of imitation, as obsolete Homeric idioms. Conf. Lucian. De conscr. hist. c. xxii.

between himself and his heart. The finest example of this kind is in the Odyssey. Ulysses, in his disguise of beggar, reposing in the vestibule of the palace, hears the maidens of his household sallying forth with joyous levity to their rendezvous with their suitor-paramours. His blood boils up at this pollution of his domestic honour with so fervid an indignation, that he can scarce refrain from inflicting punishment with his own hand on the wanton crew. This mental struggle is dramatised under the figure of his heart, jealous of his honour, barking or growling within his bosom at his forbearance. Striking his breast, he chides the rebellious organ of his pride and passion, telling it to bear, for it has borne more bitter insults, and to trust, as formerly, to his wisdom for delivery from disaster or disgrace: Od. xx. 13.

κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει,
ὡς δὲ κύων ἀμαλῇσι περὶ σκυλάκεσσι βεβῶσα,
ἄνδρ' ἀγνοιήσασ' ὑλάει, μέμονέν τε μάχεσθαι,
ὣς ῥα τοῦ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει ἀγαιομένου κακὰ ἔργα·
στῆθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ·
τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη, καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης. . .
ὣς ἔφατ' ἐν στήθεσσι καθαπτόμενος φίλον ἦτορ·
τῷ δὲ μάλ' ἐν πείσῃ κραδίη μένε τετληυῖα,
νωλεμέως. . . . .

This brilliant passage illustrates also the advantage of ancient over modern art, in the range of imagery which the former allows. The comparison of the hero's heart growling at the pollution of his household, to a bitch in her lair snarling at the stranger approaching her whelps, appropriate and spirited as it is in the artless mood of the primitive bard, would,

in the page of a modern poet, be taxed, no doubt, as coarse or inelegant.[1]

In the Iliad the heart of Achilles is made the subject of a similar, but less detailed, personification: I. 188.

Πηλείωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν,
ἢ ὅγε φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ. . .

Among the more expressive terms above noticed as peculiar to the ethic vocabulary of Homer is πορφύρω. It denotes in its primary sense a lurid darkening or louring, more especially the dark heaving of the sea on the approach of a storm; and, by an appropriate metaphor, the fluctuations of the human breast when filled with gloomy forebodings. The finest example, both of its direct and figurative use, is where Nestor, while nursing a wounded comrade in his tent, alarmed by the tumult of battle thickening around the camp, goes forth to reconnoitre. The effect produced on the old hero by the scene of national disaster that presents itself is thus described: XIV. 16.

ὡς δ' ὅτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῷ,
ὀσσόμενον λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα . . .
ὣς ὁ γέρων ὥρμαινε, δαϊζόμενος κατὰ θυμόν.

The natural phenomenon here described is familiar to voyagers in the narrow broken seas of Greece. The wind freshening after a calm, behind some projecting headland or at such a distance as to be

[1] No less graphic and spirited, while still less compatible with modern poetical refinement, is the ensuing simile (v. 25. sqq.); where the tossing of the hero on his feverish couch, amid the fierce struggle in his bosom between boiling indignation and stoical self-command, is likened to the tossing of a haggis (for such, in fact, is the dish described) in a boiling cauldron.

unobserved by the navigator, will frequently send across the otherwise smooth surface of the sea a heavy rolling swell, as the precursor of an approaching squall. This phenomenon is dramatised by the poet under the admirable figure of the sea itself darkly presaging the coming disturbance of its waters, as Nestor forebodes the adverse tide of war.[1] The phrase *πορφύρω* also occurs thrice in the Odyssey, to express the anxious meditation by the way of a person embarked in some hazardous enterprise: IV. 427. 572., X. 309.

ἦϊα· πολλὰ δέ μοι κραδίη πόρφυρε κίοντι . . . .

and once in the strikingly parallel verse of the Iliad: XXI. 551.

ἔστη· πολλὰ δέ οἱ κραδίη πόρφυρε μένοντι.

Observe, too, with what propriety the imagery is varied in the case of Penelope. Unlike the turbulent excitement of the stern warrior, the flittings of anxious thought which agitate her gentle bosom in the stillness of the night, are compared, in a simile of singular richness and delicacy, to the varied note of the nightingale, pouring forth her plaintive song at the same hour of darkness and solitude.[2]

Homer's power of embodying in words the freedom and rapidity, apart from the subject, of thought, is finely exemplified in his comparison of the swift

[1] A closely analogous figure, borrowed from a more advanced stage of the same phenomenon, is the comparison of the distraction of councils among the Greeks, after a lost battle, to the waves agitated by conflicting winds: Il. IX. 5.

ὡς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα, . . .
ἐλθόντ' ἰξαπίνης . . . .
ὣς ἐδαΐζετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν.

[2] XIX. 515.

execution of the will of heaven by its ministers, to the imagination of a far-travelled man passing in review the scenes he has visited: Il. xv. 80.

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν αἰζῃ νόος ἀνέρος, ὅστ' ἐπὶ πολλὴν
γαῖαν ἐληλουθὼς, φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσι νοήσῃ·
ἔνθ' εἴην, ἢ ἔνθα· μενοινήῃσί τε πολλά·
ὡς κραιπνῶς μεμαυῖα διέπτατο πότνια Ἥρη.

The freedom of thought is indeed a natural and long since hackneyed figure for swiftness of motion. But Homer alone has found means of dramatising the simile; and the faculty, itself endued with personality, asserts and rejoices in its boundless liberty.

Affection of sympathy.

3. The poet's knowledge of human nature is no less effectively displayed in his treatment of the more prominent passions or affections as common to mankind in the aggregate, than as peculiar to individual characters. Attention will first be directed to his singularly delicate sense of the affection of sympathy. Whoever has known grief must have experienced how readily our own distresses find vent in the tears we shed for those of others; how often, in what appears at the moment but the effect of commiseration, we are influenced as much or more by a selfish, as a purely compassionate, impulse. Let any one cast his eyes over an audience intent on an eloquent funeral oration, and observe down whose cheeks the tears flow most copiously, or from what bosom the most convulsive sobs proceed. Will it be found in every case that the persons so affected are those most remarkable for the tenderness of their hearts? Will it not rather appear that they are such as have themselves smarted most recently and severely under affliction? It is, therefore, their own sorrow, rather

than that of the bereaved widow or orphan, which so deeply affects them. But, although this excess of sympathy may be selfish, it is not without its moral value. Every impulse which softens the heart towards distress is in itself amiable. As a general rule, those who have suffered most themselves most readily feel for the misfortunes of their neighbours; and, were it possible, in any such case as that above supposed, to analyse the component elements of grief, it would probably be found, that, even deducting those of a purely selfish nature, such as remained would be greater on the part of the afflicted than of the light-hearted portion of the audience.

Nowhere does the moral ingredient of Homer's poetry assume more marked features of individuality, than in his deep sense and beautiful treatment of this delicate affection. A striking example is in the scene in the quarters of Achilles, after the death of Patroclus, where the chorus of captive females respond to the lament of Briseïs: XIX. 301.

ὣς ἔφατο κλαίουσ', ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες,
Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν[1], σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἑκάστη.

The simple conciseness of the expression, as compared with the fulness of the idea conveyed, renders this one of the most exquisite touches of its kind in either poem.

[1] It may be proper to caution the less experienced scholar against taking this phrase in the sense of "pretext," which it familiarly bears in later Greek prose. It must here be understood in its simpler primary import of "apparent cause" or "motive," which elsewhere attaches to it with Homer. Heyne's notion that the females, selfishly absorbed in their own sorrows, were indifferent to the death of their benefactor, is a proof, among many, of the deficiency of the faculty of taste, which disqualified that learned commentator, like so many others of his nation, for a competent critic of any such work as the Iliad.

In the supplication of Priam to Achilles, every thing depended on a first impression. The suddenness and boldness of the intrusion, the vindictive bitterness of the Myrmidon chief against every thing Trojan, and his fierce impetuosity of temper, imperatively required that the commencement of the old man's address should be so conceived as to work at once on his generous sympathies. One less deeply read in the book of nature might have made Priam open his suit with a touching picture of his domestic woe, or a flattering appeal to the generosity of the Greek champion and the fulness of the vengeance already exacted. Homer's Priam directs the attack on a far more vulnerable quarter. He tells Achilles, simply and abruptly, to "remember his own father, standing, like the wretched parent who knelt before him, on the brink of the grave; oppressed, perhaps, like him, by some foreign invader; and lamenting, if not the death, the absence, at least, in a distant land, of his darling son, the hope and support of his declining years." This argument is kept in view from first to last. The heart of Achilles melts before it, like wax beneath a burning sun, and a burst of sympathetic emotion at the close completes the triumph of the royal suppliant's eloquence: Il. XXIV. 486.

μνῆσαι πατρὸς σοῖο, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ!
τηλίκου ὥσπερ ἐγών, ὀλοῷ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ.

. . . . . .

ὣς φάτο· τῷ δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑφ' ἵμερον ὦρσε γόοιο·
τὼ δὲ μνησαμένω, ὁ μὲν Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο,
κλαῖ' ἀδινὰ, προπάροιθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλῆος ἑλυσθείς,

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς κλαῖεν ἑὸν πατέρ', ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
Πάτροκλον· τῶν δὲ στοναχὴ κατὰ δώματ' ὀρώρει.

Nothing can be more admirable of its kind, either in point of conception or execution, than this whole scene.

In the previous picture of family mourning, in the Trojan palace, it is not for Hector alone that Priam's daughters weep so bitterly, but: XXIV. 167.

τῶν μιμνησκόμεναι, οἳ δὴ πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ
χερσὶν ὑπ' Ἀργείων κέατο ψυχὰς ὀλέσαντες.

In the Lament of Patroclus, the allusion of Achilles to his absent father is responded to by his fellow-mourners with an outbreak of the same mixed emotion: XIX. 338.

ὣς ἔφατο κλαίων, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γέροντες,
μνησάμενοι τὰ ἕκαστος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλειπον.

In the Odyssey, where Menelaus mourns over the disasters and supposed death of Ulysses, the emotion of Pisistratus is similarly described: IV. 186.

οὐδ' ἄρα Νέστορος υἱὸς ἀδακρύτῳ ἔχεν ὄσσε,
μνήσατο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος Ἀντιλόχοιο,
τόν ῥ' Ἠοῦς ἔκτεινε φαεινῆς ἀγλαὸς υἱός.

Affection of grief,

4. The same penetrating insight into the finer sensibilities of our nature is displayed in the poet's treatment of the simple affection of grief, of which that above illustrated is a modification. One favourite mode is, to describe the indulgence of sorrow as an enjoyment. That there is a pleasure in the overflowings of an afflicted heart is as certain[1] as that the

[1] Aristot. Rhet. I. xi. καὶ ἐν τοῖς πένθεσι καὶ θρήνοις ἐγγίγνεταί τις ἡδονή.

cruellest of all sufferings are those which cannot or dare not find vent. The delight which the poet takes in this image is as exclusively peculiar to himself as his method of adorning it. The parallel texts here, as elsewhere, frequently assume a conventional form. Sometimes the affection is described simply as an enjoyment. Among the most effective passages of this kind are those allusive to the woes of Penelope, as in the subjoined example of her own plaintive eloquence: XIX. 512.

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον πόρε δαίμων,
ἤματα μὲν γὰρ τέρπομ' ὀδυρομένη γοόωσα . . . .

and in the account of her weeping over the bow of Ulysses: XXI. 57.

ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τάρφθη πολυδακρύτοιο γόοιο. . . .

This line occurs in the Odyssey on two other similar occasions; and, slightly varied, in the address of Pelides to his men before the funeral of Patroclus: Il. XXIII. 10.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεί κ' ὀλοοῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο . . .

also in his interview with Priam: XXIV. 513.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥα γόοιο τετάρπετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς . .

The following passages of each poem, the one from the interview of Achilles with the ghost of Patroclus, the other from that between Ulysses and the shade of his mother, supply a curious example of the poet's happy tact of varying the letter of substantially the same expression, to suit the variety of the case:

Il. XXIII. 97.

ἀλλά μοι ὅσσον στῆθι, μίνυνθά περ ἀμφιβαλόντε
ἀλλήλους, ὀλοοῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο.

Od. xi. 211.

ὄφρα καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο, φίλας περὶ χεῖρε βαλόντε,
ἀμφοτέρω κρυεροῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο.

The parallel extends to the whole neighbouring texts.

At other times, afflicted persons are described as inspiring each other with a desire or lust of grief. Here, also, the parallel passages often assume a conventional form, as in the scene between Priam and Achilles: Il. xxiv. 507.

ὣς φάτο· τῷ δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑφ' ἵμερον ὦρσε γόοιο,

repeated in the interview between Menelaus and Telemachus in the Odyssey, and, with slight variation, in other passages of both poems.[1]

Sometimes, the full indulgence of sorrow, like that of any other pleasurable sensation, is described as producing satiety; as in the account by Menelaus of his habitual state of feeling towards his departed companions in arms: Od. iv. 102.

ἄλλοτε μέν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
παύομαι· αἰψηρὸς δὲ κόρος κρυεροῖο γόοιο.[2]

With this may be compared the two following texts similarly illustrative, in their variety of form, of unity of conception:

Il. xxiv. 522.

ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπης
ἐν θυμῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἐάσομεν, ἀχνύμενοί περ.
οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο.

Od. x. 201.

κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντες·
ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις ἐγίγνετο μυρομένοισι.[3]

[1] Conf. Il. xxiii. 108.; Odyss. iv. 183., xvi. 215., xix. 249., xxiii. 231.
[2] Conf. Il. xxii. 427.; Od. iv. 541., x. 499. [3] Conf. Od. x. 568.

The same association of ideas is embodied by Priam in a still more touching form in Il. xxiv. 226.

αὐτίκα γάρ με κατακτείνειεν Ἀχιλλεύς,
ἀγκὰς ἑλόντ' ἐμὸν υἱὸν, ἐπὴν γόου ἐξ ἔρον εἴην.[1]

The spirit of these forms is modified in an interesting manner by the varied power of their principal term γόος. Sometimes this word expresses the simple affection of grief, sometimes its indulgence, sometimes any species of tender emotion producing the same outward effect. The phrase may, in such cases, be well rendered by the French term "attendrissement," to which the English tongue has no equivalent. Among other examples may be cited the description of the scene where the Ithacan mariners, delivered from the degrading effects of Circe's enchantment, are restored to the society of their comrades: Od. x. 398.

πᾶσιν δ' ἱμερόεις ὑπέδυ γόος, ἀμφὶ δὲ δῶμα
σμερδαλέον κανάχιζε, θεὰ δ' ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτή.

What they really felt was joy, though tempered by the remembrance of their late calamity.[2]

Another delicate shade of this class of emotion is the pleasure derived even from bygone sorrows, as viewed through the refining medium of the memory. This sentiment is finely embodied in the rustic elo-

[1] Conf. Il. xxiii. 157.

[2] How little of commonplace there is in the spirit at least of these passages, whatever may be the case with their wording, cannot be better evinced than by the fact, that throughout the whole volume of Shakspeare, who is generally held to have probed every nook and cranny of human passion or feeling, no allusion can be found, in so far at least as the author's researches extend, to the pleasurable ingredient of sorrow, or to satiety in its indulgence, offering the remotest parallel to any one of the above copious series of examples.

quence of Eumæus, when referring to the disasters of his own early life: Od. XV. 400.

μετὰ γάρ τε καὶ ἄλγεσι τέρπεται ἀνήρ,
ὅστις δή μάλα πολλὰ πάθῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἐπαληθῇ. . . .

The grief of Achilles for the death of his friend finds vent in a similar train of association: Il. XXIV. 6.

Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀδροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος ἠΰ,
ἠδ' ὁπόσα τολύπευσε σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ πάθεν ἄλγεα.

The very miseries suffered in his friend's company are now objects, not of memory alone, but of longing desire.[1]

as displayed in different characters.

5. Of the more ordinary effects of grief, as displayed in different characters, both poems also abound in descriptions marked by the same fine perception of its sources and influence. A favourite mode of illustrating the sorrow of Penelope is, to describe her as giving vent to it when awaking in the night from her disturbed and dreamy slumbers.[2] That this image was equally familiar to the author of each poem, although opportunity for its direct introduction occurred in the Odyssey alone, appears from the passage of the Iliad where Venus, when wounded by Diomed, is consoled with the prospect of a speedy revenge by her mother Dione, who assures her that, "ere long, Ægialea, the fond wife of her impious assailant, will start in her sleep, and rouse her maidens with lamentations for the husband of her youth."[3]

The copious but silent flow of tears, under calm but desperate anguish, is twice expressed in the Iliad, in slightly varied terms, by the simile of a

[1] Shaks. Rom. and Jul.

All these woes shall serve
For sweet discourses in our time to come.

[2] Od. XX. 58, XIX. 515. [3] Il. V. 412.

fountain dripping from a rock.[1] Parallel is also the beautiful figure in the Odyssey, of Penelope's mute placid sorrow, where the tears trickling down her pale cheek are likened to snow melting beneath the balmy zephyrs.[2]

The distracting effects of a first announcement of disastrous intelligence supply two powerful passages of the Iliad, as interesting in their parallel as in their contrast. The one is where Achilles is apprised of the death of Patroclus; the other where Andromache descries on the plain the corpse of Hector.[3] The common features of each description are finely varied to suit the variety of characters. In both cases, the faculties of the sufferer are enveloped in a "cloud or night of grief;" in both, they sink prostrate on the ground. The afflicted queen strips her head of its ornaments, and strews them wildly around her. Achilles tears his hair, and scatters the dust, in which he rolls, over his head and person. The attendant females raise and support the heroine, lest the violence of her convulsions prove fatal to her. Antilochus grasps the hands of the hero, lest he should attempt self-destruction. How familiar this representation of his heroes rolling on the earth, under an overwhelming pressure of affliction, was to the poet, appears also from various examples in the Odyssey.[4]

Terror.

The influence of grief and terror combined is finely expressed in the account of Penelope's first reception of the news of her son's departure: Od. IV. 703.

τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ.
δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε, τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε
δακρυόφι πλῆσθεν, θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή.

[1] IX. 13.; conf. XVI. 3.
[2] XIX. 204.
[3] XVIII. 22. sqq., XXII. 466. sqq.
[4] IV. 541., X. 499., XVII 525., conf. Il. XXII. 221. 414.

The passage occurs, slightly varied, in the Iliad, where Antilochus hears of the death of Patroclus: XVII. 694—696.

κατέστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας,
δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε, κ.τ.λ.[1] . .

The effects of furious indignation on the frame are twice described in the respective cases of Agamemnon and Antinoüs, in a graphic formula, which, if employed by different authors, would imply a servility of imitation no way reconcilable with the genuine originality of each description: Il. I. 103., Od. IV. 661. Anger.

μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιναι
πίμπλαντ', ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐΐκτην.

Suppressed rage, brooding future vengeance, is indicated by the silent tremor of the head: Od. XVII. 465.

ἀλλ' ἀκέων κίνησε κάρη, κακὰ βυσσοδομεύων.

and Od. V. 284.

ὁ δ' ἐχώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον·
κινήσας δὲ κάρη προτὶ ὃν μυθήσατο θυμόν· . . .

6. One so familiar with the passions and foibles of human nature[2] could not fail to be deeply sensible of its vanity. The vanity of human life and its pursuits is indeed, in all ages, a trite axiom of elementary philosophy. The primitive moralist has at least the advantage of inculcating it in its native freshness, while in the page of his successors it is apt to appear Vanity of human life.

[1] Similar in spirit is the description of the speechless terror of Eurylochus on escaping from the cave of Circe: Od. X. 246.

οὐδέ τι ἐκφάσθαι δύνατο ἔπος, ἱέμενός περ,
κῆρ ἄχεϊ μεγάλῳ βεβολημένος. . . . Conf. XXIII. 106.

[2] Another important head of Homer's poetical ethics has been examined in connexion with the character of Agamemnon.

but hackneyed and second-hand. Homer's lively sense of this standard truth, with the importance he attached to it, is evinced by the prominence given to it throughout both poems, and the variety of imagery by which it is adorned. The unity of conception in these passages, amid much diversity of form, as spread in nearly equal proportions over both works, suffices almost in itself to guarantee their unity of origin.

The general rule, as it may be called, is concisely laid down in the following pair of strikingly parallel texts:

Il. xvii. 446.

οὐ μὲν γάρ τί πού ἐστιν ὀϊζυρώτερον ἀνδρός,
πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἕρπει.

Od. xviii. 130.

οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο,
πάντων, ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἔπι πνείει τε καὶ ἕρπει.

"Of things that breathe and creep upon the ground,
No vainer thing than mortal man is found."

The latter passage is followed up by a moral commentary, distinguished by a terseness of expression and a depth of sentiment which would do honour to Aristotle or Bacon. It closes with two other equally remarkable lines, describing the absolute dependance on the Deity of every thought of his ephemeral creatures:

τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
οἷον ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. . .

The rule is beautifully illustrated by the comparison of successive generations of men to the annual changes of the leaf: Il. vi. 146.

οἵη περ φύλλων γενεὴ, τοίηδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν·
φύλλα τὰ μέν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη

τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη,
ὣς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ, ἡ μὲν φύει ἡ δ' ἀπολήγει.

elegantly varied in the contemptuous language of Apollo: Il. XXI. 464.

δειλῶν, οἳ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες, ἄλλοτε μέν τε
ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν, ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες,
ἄλλοτε δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι.

The poet especially delights in this figure of ephemeral humanity. Hence the leaves of the forest, and the flowers of the field, are among his favourite similes for armies going forth to battle, where the fragile tenure of existence in the mighty multitude is so prominently brought into view:

Il. II. 800.

λίην γὰρ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἢ ψαμάθοισιν,
ἔρχονται πεδίοιο.

Il. II. 468.

μυρίοι, ὅσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρῃ.

Od. IX. 51.

ἦλθον ἔπειθ', ὅσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρῃ.

The groups of maidens sitting at the loom, in the palace of Alcinoüs, are compared to aspen leaves; a figure singularly expressive, in the spirit of the episode, both of the levity of the company and the briskness of their movements:[1] Od. VII. 105.

[1] This image, like many others in Homer, can be rightly appreciated by those alone who are familiar with the existing manners of Southern Europe. In modern Italy, as in antient Greece, weaving is performed by young women, frequently collected in large halls fitted up for the purpose. Whoever may happen to visit one of these establishments will recognise, in the busy flitting of the shuttles, and the appearance and gestures of the lively and often wanton crew who handle them, a counterpart of the scene here described by the poet.

αἱ δ' ἱστοὺς ὑφόωσι καὶ ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσιν,
ἥμεναι, οἷά τε φύλλα μακεδνῆς αἰγείροιο. . . .

The falling or drooping of trees or flowers is also a favourite image for the fate of slain or wounded heroes. The most beautiful of this class, often imitated by Homer's successors[1], is the comparison of the young and tender Euphorbus to a fair olive plant suddenly rooted up by the fury of the storm.[2] In the same plaintive spirit the dying Gorgythion is likened to a withering flower.[3] The comparison of the growing youth of either sex to fair young plants is also a favourite image of Homer. As parallel passages may be compared two lines of the lament of Thetis over the premature fate of her son: Il. XVIII. 56.

ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἶσος,
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ θρέψασα φυτὸν ὡς γουνῷ ἀλωῆς . . .

with the delicate flattery of Ulysses to Nausicaa: Od. VI. 162.

Δήλῳ δή ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῷ
φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.[4]

Similar illustrations of large bodies of men are derived from the more ephemeral class of animals. The Greeks mustering for battle are likened to summer flies swarming round the milk-pails: Il. II. 469.

[1] By none more beautifully than by Petrarch, tom. II. canz. iii.

[2] Il. XVII. 53. The somewhat similar comparison of the fall of Simoïsius to that of a poplar tree shows the antiquity of the practice, still common in Southern Europe, of trimming up the stem of that tree to within a few feet of the top, which, left untouched, presents the appearance of a bushy tuft. The resemblance between this tuft and the plumy helmet of the warrior here forms the main point of the figure: Il. IV. 482.

πίσεν, αἰγειρος ὥς,
ἥ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἕλεος μεγάλοιο πεφύκει,
λείη· ἀτάρ τέ οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασιν. . . .

[3] Il. VIII. 306.

[4] Conf. VI. 157., XIV. 175.

ἠΰτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλά,
αἵτε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἠλάσκουσιν
ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει·

as are also, with still more pointed effect, the combatants around the corpse of Sarpedon: XVI. 641.

οἱ δ' αἰεὶ περὶ νεκρὸν ὁμίλεον, ὡς ὅτε μυῖαι,
σταθμῷ ἔνι βρομέωσι περιγλαγέας κατὰ πέλλας,
ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαριῇν, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει.

The troops flocking from quarters to the council are compared to clusters of bees buzzing from flower to flower.[1] This passage, with the ensuing figure of Ossa, commonly dignified with the title of Fame, but who may rather be considered as the personification of popular garrulity, flitting from group to group, and, generally, the whole first portion of this book, is a spirited picture of the genius and habits of the giddy populace. In the same spirit, the battalions taking up their position on the field are compared to flocks of cackling water-fowl feeding on a meadow[2]; the noisy advance of the Trojan phalanx to the clamour of a flight of cranes.[3] The twelve wanton damsels, suspended in the palace court of Ithaca, are likened to a flight of thrushes caught by the neck in the snare of the fowler[4]: the Trojan elders seated on the city wall, to a group of crickets, proverbially the most ephemeral and garrulous of animals, chirping their brief summer song upon the trees.

Force of ethic contrast.

7. Homer's skilful employment of contrast to heighten the effect of his images has already been incidentally noticed. Among the most tangible examples is the line descriptive of the gesture with

[1] Il. II. 87.
[2] Il. II. 459.
[3] Il. III. 2.
[4] Od. XXII. 468.

which Achilles accompanies his lament over the corpse of Patroclus: Il. XVIII. 317., XXIII. 18.

χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνδροφόνους θέμενος στήθεσσιν ἑταίρου.

How finely the terror of the arm is contrasted with the tenderness of the act! A still more striking, while closely parallel, text is that descriptive of the mode in which the suppliant Priam propitiates the mercy of the fierce Myrmidon: XXIV. 478.

χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα, καὶ κύσε χεῖρας
δεινὰς, ἀνδροφόνους, αἳ οἱ πολέας κτάνον υἷας·

a combination of images conveying, in their very uncongeniality, the most powerful impression of the aged sufferer's heroic devotion. How highly the poet himself appreciated the value of this contrast appears from its reintroduction, with a new power of dramatic effect, in Priam's own words at the close of his address to the Greek hero: XXIV. 505.

ἔτλην δ', οἷ' οὔπω τις ἐπιχθόνιος βροτὸς ἄλλος,
ἀνδρὸς παιδοφόνοιο ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι.

Comic element of Homer's style.

This figure of poetical rhetoric also enters largely into the humorous descriptions of both poems, especially the tragi-comic scenes of the Odyssey. Among the examples formerly cited are, the combination of giant ferocity and cannibalism with primitive simplicity of pastoral manners in the character of the Cyclops; the blending of the same horrible attributes with the refinements of social life in the Læstrygonians; and the happy set-off which the martially significant names of the Phæacian princes offer to the frivolity of their own genius. It is the contrast between the divine majesty of Jove and his Olympic court, and the human vices and weak-

nesses fastened on them by the popular superstition, which, in the Iliad, constitutes the whole point of the satire in the description of their domestic squabbles. The burlesque turn given, in the concluding lines of the episode of Diomed and Glaucus, to the act of chivalrous courtesy which otherwise so gracefully terminates their encounter, though conceived in the spirit of Homer, is not so favourable a specimen of his art.

Play of words, or "pun."

Among the other modes in which Homer's facetious vein displays itself is his fondness for a play of words, or, in familiar language, a pun. From the gravity of the subjects selected, and the subtlety of their treatment, his object would seem, in some of these cases, as much a display of etymological ingenuity as a mere jest. This kind of wit is not very commendable in itself, nor, perhaps, has Homer shown any marvellous skill in its exercise. It has, however, like some other less dignified features of his style, the advantage of illustrating the unity of his genius, even in its defects.

The broadest and liveliest of these sallies is the assumption by Ulysses of the name of Utis, or Nobody, in his adventure with Polyphemus. Here, however, the most delicate point of the joke, which few readers probably take into account, is the series of mutual references, running through the sequel of the poem, between the term Utis and its ambiguous cognate Metis, as the latter occurs, sometimes in the synonymous sense of Nobody, sometimes in that, which also belongs to it, of Wisdom or Sagacity.[1] The hero is thus made, in the same punning mood,

[1] Od. IX. 366. sqq., 405, 406. 410. 414.; conf. XX. 20., XXIII. 125., II. 279.

to describe himself as outwitting the giant as much in his real capacity of Sage as in his assumed character of Nobody.

As a specimen of the etymological pun, may be cited the description, in the Iliad[1], of the spear of Achilles, the gift of his father Peleus. Here the play of words is threefold, between Pelai, to brandish; Peliada, "received from Peleus;" and Mount Pelion, in the forests of which the shaft of the weapon was cut. Another very similar case occurs in the Odyssey[2], in the account of the two gates through which Dreams pass from heaven to earth. The one is of ivory, Elephas, from which issue visions of a delusive character, elephai-rontai; the other is of horn, Keras, through which are sent such as make good, or fulfil, krai-nousi, their warnings. Equally palpable, in the same poem[3], is the play of words between the name of the monster Scylla, and that of the Scylax, or whelp, to the cries of which animal her own are likened. Another occurs in the same context, between the latter element of the name Cha-rybdis and rhoibdeo, to suck up or engulf, the phrase employed in the immediate sequel to describe the fierceness of the whirlpool.[4] In the Iliad[5], we have what may be called a mythological pun, in the application of the term Laos, in its twofold sense of stone and people[6], to the petrifaction of the astounded multitude, on witnessing the fate of Niobe's children. A still more subtle

[1] Il. xvi. 143. sqq.

[2] Od. xix. 562. sqq.

[3] Od. xii. 85. sq.

[4] Od. xii. 104. sqq., 236. Add: Il. ix. 137.; Od. ix. 460., xviii. 6., xxiii. 343.

[5] xxiv. 611.

[6] This quibble runs through the whole later mythology, in the legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha. Conf. Hesiod. frg. 135. Marcksch. ad l.

series of quibbles is in the passage descriptive of the Aloïdæ, between the words Orion, Enne-oroi[1], Enne-orgyioi, and Ennea-pechees.

Another form in which the poet's burlesque vein finds issue, and which, in modern vernacular usage, might be defined as "conversational slang," is the sort of quaint parabolic commonplace occasionally preferred to the direct mode of shaping a question or answer regarding some ordinary matter. Telemachus, for example, when asked by Mentes whether he is the son of Ulysses, replies[2]: "that his mother tells him so; but that, for his part, he cannot be sure; as no man can vouch from personal knowledge to his own paternity." Similar is the question familiarly put to strangers[3], on their arrival in Ithaca, "What ship had brought them? for it is to be presumed they had not arrived in the isle by land." In the

Conversational humour.

[1] Od. xi. 310. This epithet ἐννέωρος is, there can be little doubt, an archaic word, obsolete but in Homeric usage. The first element is formed from ἔννος, or ἔνος, the primitive Pelasgo-Greek term for year, annus; the second, of cognate import, connects itself with ὥρα, season, figuratively, youth or beauty. The whole epithet thus indicates, "of mature years," either as regards intellect or stature. But the poet has brought the former element of the word, as of the succeeding epithets, into punning connexion with the number nine, ἐννέα; and has thus magnified the prowess of the heroes, by characterising them as giants at nine years of age. He throws in, at the same time, another play of words between ωρος, the latter half of this enigmatical epithet, and the name of Orion, a hero celebrated for youthful strength and beauty. Ἐννέωρος has been generally rendered "nine years old," by the commentators; not merely in its punning etymology, but its ordinary literal signification; an interpretation as inapplicable to the various texts where it occurs, as that here preferred is natural and appropriate. The notion of a nine years old cow or hog (Od. x. 19. 390.), of nine years old oil (Il. xviii. 351.), or of Minos as a nine years old king (Od. xix. 179.), is as extravagant as that of a nine years old giant. Substitute "of mature age" in each case, and the epithet becomes both intelligible and expressive.

[2] Od. i. 215. [3] Od. i. 173., xiv. 190., xvi. 59. 224.; conf. xi. 58. 159.

same half-jocular sense must be understood another query, also habitually addressed[1] to strangers arriving by sea: "Whether they are pirates or honest men?" Amid the general blindness of commentators to the facetious element of the poem, this inquiry has usually and very uncritically been assumed to be made in sober earnest. It has been often cited, accordingly, in illustration of the barbarous state of society in Homer's time, when piracy was considered so honourable an occupation that no discredit attached to the suspicion of being engaged in it. The passage may, indeed, prove, as quoted by Thucydides, that piracy was then common. It must, however, be evident, that, even in times when the practice prevailed ever so extensively, those exposed to its ravages would not be likely on that account to look with such indulgence on its professors, as that it should be a matter of indifference whether a guest approached their habitation in a spirit of peace, or for the purpose of robbery and plunder. Even in the most piratical age, therefore, no such question could have come into vogue, but as a quaint mode of asking a strange guest who and what he was.

These specimens of conversational drollery, with others that might be added, if of no great merit in themselves, nor perhaps always introduced on the most appropriate occasions, are valuable, as manifesting the unity of the poet's genius even in its weaker points. They also exemplify the fondness of the Greeks, at this early period, for sly repartee, and their irresistible tendency to convert even the gravest matters into subjects of ridicule.

[1] Od. III. 73., IX. 254.

Homeric "test," or trial.

8. There remains to be considered one more characteristic feature of Homer's ethic mechanism, which, if it cannot strictly be classed under the head of humorous, is at least of analogous tendency. It is one of so subtle a nature, and so exclusively peculiar to himself, as to be not easily apprehended but by aid of examples; and hence, as equally common to both poems, it supplies the more pointed evidence of their unity of origin. The poet himself defines it by the general term of a Trial, or Test, of his heroes by each other: πειρᾷν, πειρᾶσθαι, πειρητίζειν. Sometimes this Trial amounts to little more than what we call bantering; an experiment, as it were, on the temper or patience, by sarcastic or tantalising allusions to tender subjects. Elsewhere the phrase in its various forms denotes, to sound or fathom a man, by some subtle or insidious proposal relative to matters of interest to the inquirer. At other times it may be interpreted, to deceive or beguile by false promises or pretences; and occasionally expresses the preparation for, or breaking of, some delicate piece of intelligence. In ranking this among the eccentricities, rather than the merits, of Homer's style, it is not meant to characterise it as altogether devoid of poetical value. It contributes at times to the spirit of the dialogue, especially where of a satirical turn, and occasionally also heightens the effect of pathetic scenes. Its relative advantages or defects will be best appreciated by means of the subjoined examples.

The first and most remarkable, in the Iliad, is the experiment practised by Agamemnon on the temper of his troops. Before executing Jove's order to lead them out to battle, he determines to put their zeal for

the service to the test (πειρήσεσθαι), by an oration expressing his despair of the success of the expedition, and proposing their immediate re-embarkation for Greece. His fellow-chiefs are at the same time instructed, should their men respond to this suggestion, to restrain them from carrying it into effect. Upon any recognised principle, either of political or poetical tactics, this seems one of the most defective portions of the Iliad. It is difficult to see what possible advantage could ever have accrued from such an "experiment[1]," while, if successful, it was certain, as the event showed, to be attended with serious inconvenience.

The reply of Hector to the defiance of Ajax, previous to their single combat, provokes the following retort from the Greek hero: VII. 235.

μήτι μευ, ἠΰτε παιδὸς ἀφαυροῦ, πειρήτιζε,
ἠὲ γυναικὸς, ἣ οὐκ οἶδεν πολεμήϊα ἔργα.

Here, as in some other parallel passages of the poem, the term signifies to taunt, or trifle with, rather than prove or tempt.[2]

The examples of this indirect mode of conducting the action are, as might be expected, still more frequent in the Odyssey than in the Iliad. In the recognition scene between Ulysses and Laertes, the "trial" of the old king by his son is another instance of the poet's partiality for this kind of figure, little more favourable or intelligible than the test of

[1] Il. II. 73. sqq. Aristotle (Schol. Venet. ad loc.) abandons all hope of solution, with better judgement than some modern commentators, who are so ready in other cases to sneer at the occasional over-subtlety of the Stagirite.

[2] Conf. Il. IX. 345., X. 444., XXIV. 390. 433.

the troops by Agamemnon in the Iliad.[1] The scene contains no doubt some fine passages; but it was surely neither natural nor probable that an affectionate son, on first meeting, after twenty years of separation, with a beloved parent bowed down to the brink of the grave by grief for his loss, should take pleasure, before disclosing himself, in practising on the feelings of the old man by the subtle process here resorted to.

When Telemachus, in his first interview with Menelaus, and as yet unknown to him, appears affected by some allusion to the fate of Ulysses, the courteous king, it is said, hesitated: IV. 118.

ἠέ μιν αὐτὸν πατρὸς ἐάσειε μνησθῆναι,
ἦ πρῶτ' ἐξερέοιτο, ἕκαστά τε πειρήσαιτο.[2]

"Whether he should allow him undisturbed to indulge his feelings, or should test him by cross-questioning."

The mode in which Polyphemus[3] attempts to "pump out" of Ulysses where he had left his ship, is similarly described; as is also the sly parabolic harangue[4] by which the hero, in his mendicant disguise, solicits the loan of a cloak from the swineherd. The same phrascology, in its several varieties, is used both by Ulysses and Telemachus[5], with reference to their plan of "sounding," or "fathoming" the fidelity of the members of their household; and Minerva, in describing the wily cautious genius of Ulysses, characterises him as one "who would not

[1] Od. XXIV. 238. sqq.
[2] Conf. XXIV. 238.
[3] Od. IX. 281.; conf. XIX. 215.
[4] Od. XIV. 459.; conf. XV. 304.
[5] Od. XVI. 305. 313. 319.

trust even his own wife, without first submitting her fidelity to some species of test."[1]

This figure of poetical rhetoric, under its various phases, is of so marked a character as naturally to have suggested itself to the poet's imitators as a good expedient for imparting Homeric spirit to their text. There is, however, no trace of its employment by any other representative of the primitive epic genius.

[1] Od. xiii. 336.

CHAP. XV.

HOMER. STYLE. ITS DRAMATIC, DESCRIPTIVE, ILLUSTRATIVE, AND METRICAL ELEMENTS.

1. HOMER'S DRAMATIC FACULTY, AS EXERCISED IN THE PORTRAITURE OF CHARACTER. — 2. HIS DESCRIPTIVE FACULTY. BATTLES. — 3. STORMS. LANDSCAPE PICTURESQUE. — 4. HIS FACULTY OF CONDENSATION AND AMPLIFICATION. — 5. EPITHETS, AS COMMON TO THE RACE OF HEROES. — 6. TITLES OF COURTESY. EPITHETS JOINTLY APPROPRIATED TO THE PROTAGONIST OF EACH POEM. — 7. EPITHETS PROPER TO SINGLE HEROES. — 8. CONSISTENT APPLICATION OF HOMER'S EPITHETS. — 9. SIMILES. — 10. A REMARK OF BURKE. — 11. HOMER'S PARENTHETIC ENLARGEMENT OF HIS SIMILES. 12. OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF HIS SIMILES. — 13. SYNTACTICAL AND METRICAL ELEMENTS OF HOMER'S STYLE. — 14. HEXAMETER VERSE. — 15. ADAPTATION OF SOUND TO SENSE, IN THE CHOICE OF PHRASES. — 16. IN THE POSITION OF PHRASES. — 17. ALLITERATION AND RHYME IN HOMER.

Homer's dramatic faculty,

1. HOMER'S faculty of dramatising his narrative, of transferring from himself to his heroes the duty of developing the action of the poem as well as their own characters, is one of the most prominent peculiarities, as well as beauties, of his style. As such it has been pointedly noticed by most of the great critics of antiquity, from Plato[1] and Aristotle[2] downwards; and his superiority in this respect to all other epic poets, antient or modern, still remains undisputed. The faculty itself cannot be more clearly defined than in the words of Aristotle: "Homer, commendable as he is on so many other accounts, is especially so in that he alone among poets has rightly understood what belongs to his own office. For the poet himself ought to say as little as possible,

[1] De Repub. III. p. 393. sq., X. p. 595 C. 598 D. 607.; Theæt. p. 152.
[2] Poetic. XXV.; conf. Dion. Hal. De Struct. orat. XX.; Quintil. X. i. 46.

otherwise he would not be, as he ought to be, an imitator of nature. Other poets are accustomed to appear in their own person, as managers of the whole action, leaving little or nothing to imitative art. But he, after a short proœmium, at once introduces a man, woman, or some other personification of nature, and always in the most natural and characteristic manner." There is scarcely a page of either work but what supplies illustration of this criticism. In the Iliad, the exordium itself, though necessarily delivered in the poet's own person, is in so far dramatised that it is couched in the form of an address first to his Muse and then to his reader. Even here, his personal announcement is limited to a general idea of the great subject on which he is about to embark; and immediately a purely dramatic turn is given to the action, by the introduction of Chryses addressing his petition to Agamemnon. The remainder of the book is an almost continued succession of dialogue or debate; often with little more of explanatory matter than some editors of tragedies are wont to append to their scenes in order to render them intelligible.

In the Odyssey this characteristic is exemplified still more extensively, owing partly to the greater opening afforded by the subject to the portraiture of familiar life; partly to the preponderance in the Iliad of adventures, the battles for instance, which could hardly be described but in a narrative form. A more complete dramatic illusion in epic poetry can scarcely be imagined than the twentieth canto of the Odyssey, comprising, according to its antient title, "the events prior to the death of the suitors." The scene opens with the striking self-dialogue

already cited, between Ulysses and his own heart, as he lay tossing on his anxious couch. His subsequent interview with Minerva, and the soliloquy of the equally sleepless Penelope in the thalamus above, are also pure drama. The sound of Penelope's voice, reaching his ear, calls forth his prayer to Jupiter for some token of sympathy with their woes. The answer is a peal of thunder, followed up by the touching episode, where the hapless maiden, condemned to toil through the night at the mill, is heard complaining, in another part of the palace, of the hardships entailed on the household by the profligacy of the suitors, and hailing the prodigy as an omen of speedy relief. The morning now dawns, and the gradual increase of bustle in a large patriarchal establishment is not described, but acted. Telemachus rises, and after conversing with the housekeeper on the hospitalities of the day, proceeds to the forum. Euryclea enjoins on her maids especial diligence in setting in order the palace halls, as the religious festival in preparation would attract the guests early. The dependants of the family now drop in one by one, and resume their daily functions. The men heap wood on the hearth; the women draw water from the fountain. Eumæus and Melanthius arrive with their customary supply of live stock. The former enters into friendly converse with his disguised master, who is made the butt of the goatherd's insolence. Another faithful rustic enters, and joins in the dialogue. At length come the suitors, who exhibit their own characteristic levity and scurrility, in the usual lively colours; and the picture of life and manners concludes with the scene between Theoclymenus and

the reckless crew, the powerful effect of which episode has already been noticed. This whole book is, in fact, little else than a pure drama, or act of a tragedy. The illusion is perhaps still more complete than in a theatrical composition, from the variety of events brought on the scene, without either a sacrifice of the "unities," or a conventional assumption of their existence.

as exercised in the portraiture of character.

One great advantage certainly of this method of treatment is the aid it affords to portraiture of character. Elaborate commentaries on the vices, virtues, or eccentricities, of any remarkable personage, are always comparatively ineffective. Let him, however, be made to exhibit himself in a few well-managed scenes, and we obtain a better acquaintance with him than through volumes of studied description. Homer, accordingly, seldom vouchsafes any more special definition of his leading characters than their familiar epithets. Even in respect to those qualities of his heroes, a knowledge of which could less easily be communicated by themselves, such as their stature or personal appearance, he shifts the burthen from himself, by making them describe each other. Of this expedient, the dialogue between Priam and Helen on the Trojan wall is a prominent example. Much is also managed by means of illustrative imagery; as where Ajax, retreating before the crowd of Trojans, is likened to an ass driven out of a corn field by the cudgels of a troop of boys. Perhaps the most remarkable specimen of this indirect portraiture is the picture of Polyphemus in the Odyssey. All that the poet, "in his own person," tells us concerning the monster is, that "he was more like a woody mountain top than

a man." Every further impression of him is derived from the particulars of the action. Such are the immensity of the burthen he bears, and the stone he rolls; the noise of his entry into the cave; the flight of Ulysses and his comrades, on beholding him, terror-struck, "like bats," into its recesses; the sinking of their hearts within them at the sound of his voice; and the facility with which he seizes, kills, cooks, and swallows, his victims. Hence, while in the whole cycle of marvellous adventure there is probably no giant who is so little described, there is none of whose person and character we have so full and clear an apprehension.

How little pleasure Homer took in appearing, as Aristotle defines it, in his own person, is evinced by sundry other elegant expedients, to which he resorts in order to give a dramatic turn to the text where it could not conveniently be embodied in the form of an ordinary dialogue. A favourite one is to share his functions with his heroes[1], his Muse[2], his reader[3], or even altogether indefinite persons, by addressing himself to the one or the other, as it may happen, instead of pursuing the usual train of discourse to a

[1] Il. xvi. 20. *τὸν δὲ βαρυστενάχων προσέφης, Πατρόκλεις ἱππεῦ.*
Od. xiv. 55. *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφης, Εὔμαιε συβῶτα.*

It is remarkable that this particular form of personal allocution, of which there occur in all eighteen examples, three in the Iliad, fifteen in the Odyssey, is limited, in the former poem, exclusively to Patroclus, in the latter to Eumæus. Conf. Il. xvi. 693.

Menelaus is similarly addressed in numerous passages of the Iliad: iv. 127., vii. 104., xvii. 679. 702.; Apollo, in Il. xv. 365., xx. 152.; Melanippus, in xv. 582.; Achilles, in xx. 2.

[2] Il. i. 1., ii. 484., xii. 176., xiv. 508., xvi. 112.; Odyss. i. 1.

[3] Il. iii. 220. 392., iv. 223. 429. 539., xv. 697., xvii. 366.; Odyss. iii. 124. Conf. Il. i. 8.; Od. xxii. 12. alibi.

general audience. Public opinion, or the sentiments of classes or groups of men, upon interesting topics, is similarly dramatised, by the introduction of nameless speakers mutually expressing their views to each other.[1] Another fertile resource is that peculiarly Homeric self-dialogue above examined, where, on occasion of any great emergency overtaking one of his actors, the poet, instead of himself explaining the difficulties of the crisis, exhibits the hero debating the matter with "his own soul" personified within his breast for the occasion.

His descriptive faculty.

2. Any detailed analysis of those broader features of Homer's descriptive style which have in all ages formed trite subject of eulogy, such as the splendour of his battles or his storms, could involve little more than a repetition of much that has been often and better illustrated in popular treatises on the subject. The following few observations have been framed, therefore, more with the object of throwing light on the personal unity of the poet than the character of his compositions.

As a general rule the heroic enterprise of the Iliad may be described as martial, that of the Odyssey as maritime. Each poem, however, supplies occasional instances of the kind of adventure more immediately proper to its rival.

Battles.

There is perhaps no feature of the Iliad which more broadly distinguishes it from other works of its class, than the large portion of the text allotted to

[1] Of this the most remarkable form is that commencing with the verse:

ὣς ἴε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον,

repeated, under sundry varieties, ten times in the Iliad, eighteen in the Odyssey.

actual fighting; to the simple operation of killing and wounding; the anatomy, as it were, of warfare. That Homer's battles are accumulated to an excessive degree, and that they often present a sameness and minuteness, calculated to move the spleen of even a not over-fastidious reader, cannot be denied. Yet it is remarkable, that, while there are few properties of the Iliad more frequently dwelt on by critics of all ages than the fire and spirit of its battles, the imputation of tediousness is seldom seriously pressed. The severity of criticism would seem to have been disarmed by the poet's skill in enlivening his subject; by the tact with which he successively brings forward the different heroes as principal objects of attention, and by the novelty which their different modes of acting impart to the reproduction of the same performance; by the interesting notices interspersed of their families or fortunes; and by the rich variety of supernatural agency or figurative imagery in which he dresses up the particulars of each adventure. Much also of his circumstantial minuteness of description, such as the surgical accuracy with which wounds are inflicted, may be considered as an indulgence to that peculiarity of taste above examined, which leads a primitive audience to delight in detailed descriptions even of petty matters possessing an immediate hold on their personal sympathy or curiosity.

The martial element of the Iliad, therefore, supplies, in its defects as in its merits, an obvious argument in favour of substantial integrity in the composition of the poem. The greater the power of imparting spirit to such a redundancy of monotonous occurrences, the more improbable that so eccentric a com-

bination of taste and talent should have been common, under such pervading features of resemblance, to any number of authors. As regards again the supposed subordinate integrity of the parts or cantos of the poem, it were certainly nothing unlikely in itself, that different poets should select, each as the subject of a separate song, the exploits before Troy, of Diomed, Ajax, or Menelaus. But that an artificial compiler, qualified to construct an Iliad out of such materials, in endeavouring to impart the highest degree of epic finish to his work, should have studiously accumulated so overwhelming a mass of military details, is infinitely less probable, than that such a combination should have spontaneously emanated from a single fervid and eccentric genius, inspired by a single great and exciting subject.

While the military element of the Iliad is thus profusely varied, comprising the collision of armies, the siege and defence of cities and camps, the flight, the pursuit, the rally, the single combat, that of the Odyssey offers no such variety. The only battle described at any length in the latter poem, that between Ulysses and the suitors, is marked indeed by the same general style, and by many of the same traits of merit and defect, as those of the Trojan plain. It is, however, on the whole, a far less favourable specimen of the poet's art, owing chiefly to the defective materials which both the adventure and the locality supplied for such descriptions. A better parallel will be found in passages of a more incidental character. Among these the most remarkable is the account given by Ulysses of his adventure with the Ciconians, which, in order to be rightly appreciated, must be quoted entire: Od. IX. 39.

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν,
Ἰσμάρῳ· ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς.
ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἀλόχους καὶ κτήματα πολλὰ λαβόντες
Il. xi. 705. δασσάμεθ', ὡς μήτις μοι ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.
ἔνθ' ἤτοι μὲν ἐγὼ διερῷ ποδὶ φευγέμεν ἠμέας
ἠνώγεα· τοὶ δὲ μέγα νήπιοι οὐκ ἐπίθοντο.
Il. ix. 466–9. ἔνθα δὲ πολλὸν μὲν μέθυ πίνετο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα
ἔσφαζον παρὰ θῖνα, καὶ εἰλίποδας ἕλικας βοῦς.
τόφρα δ' ἄρ' οἰχόμενοι Κίκονες Κικόνεσσι γεγώνευν,
οἵ σφιν γείτονες ἦσαν ἅμα πλέονες καὶ ἀρείους,
ἤπειρον ναίοντες· ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων
ἀνδράσι μάρνασθαι, καὶ ὅθι χρὴ πεζὸν ἐόντα.
Il. ii. 468. ἦλθον ἔπειθ', ὅσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίγνεται ὥρῃ,
ἠέριοι· τότε δή ῥα κακὴ Διὸς αἶσα παρέστη
ἡμῖν αἰνομόροισιν, ἵν' ἄλγεα πολλὰ πάθοιμεν.
Il. xviii. 533. στησάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσι,
βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείῃσιν.
Il. xi. 84. sqq.; conf. xvi. 777. sqq. ὄφρα μὲν ἠὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,
τόφρα δ' ἀλεξόμενοι μένομεν πλέονάς περ ἐόντας,
ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος μετενίσσετο βουλυτόνδε,
καὶ τότε δὴ Κίκονες κλῖναν δαμάσαντες Ἀχαιούς.
ἓξ δ' ἀφ' ἑκάστης νηὸς ἐϋκνήμιδες ἑταῖροι
ὤλονθ'· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φύγομεν θάνατόν τε μόρον τε.

This narrative, in native simplicity and originality, in condensed power, spirit, and vivacity, in the number and variety of the events, as compared with the concise perspicuity of the language, stands unsurpassed, perhaps unrivalled, by any other passage of either poem. It is, in fact, a miniature of a martial epopee, as complete in its beginning, middle, and end, as Aristotle himself could have desired. Yet it will be found, by reference to the marginal citations, to be made up, in a great measure, of verses common to

the Iliad. Although one or two of these parallel texts are of a nature to entitle them, possibly, to a place in the public stock of epic phraseology, yet, in regard to the rest, this cannot, among other reasons, be supposed, from their occurrence being confined to the two occasions here referred to, in the page of either work. The passage of Iliad II. has already been quoted among the images employed to enforce one of the poet's standard moral maxims; while the two noble lines of Il. XVIII. will be hereafter cited in equally pointed illustration of another prominent characteristic of his style. That a genius qualified to produce this description might avail himself, at times, of the current commonplace of his profession may be granted; but it is incredible that he should have condescended to botch up his own finest passages, by plagiarising verses and ideas remarkable for spirit and beauty from the stores of a neighbour.

The Odyssey offers numerous other texts evincing, wherever the subject involved the introduction of military affairs, a mode of treating them essentially the same as in the Iliad. The greater part of the hero's narrative to Eumæus is but an abridgement of one of the military rhapsodies of the latter poem, delivered with much of the gossiping quaintness of Nestor.[1]

Storms. 3. In its own proper sphere of hazardous adventure, the storm or the shipwreck, the Odyssey in its turn, maintains, its superiority to the Iliad. That this too was owing to difference of subject, not of genius in the author, is proved by many passages in the illustrative portion of the Iliad, where the phenomena of the ocean, or the habits of seafaring

[1] XIV. 216. sqq.; conf. XVII. 427. sqq.

life, are described in language not only marked by the very same spirit, but embodying, often to the letter, the most delicate images and expressions of the more finished pictures of the Odyssey. This will abundantly appear from the following series of parallels:

Il. iv. 422.

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχέϊ κῦμα θαλάσσης . . . .
χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας
κυρτὸν ἐὸν κορυφοῦται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἁλὸς ἄχνην· . . .

Od. v. 401.

καὶ δὴ δοῦπον ἄκουσε ποτὶ σπιλάδεσσι θαλάσσης·
ῥόχθει γὰρ μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ξερὸν ἠπείροιο
δεινὸν ἐρευγόμενον, εἴλυτο δὲ πάνθ' ἁλὸς ἄχνῃ·

Il. xvii. 264.

βέβρυχεν μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ ῥόον, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκραι
ἠϊόνες βοόωσιν, ἐρευγομένης ἁλὸς ἔξω·

Od. v. 411.

ἔκτοσθεν μὲν γὰρ πάγοι ὀξέες, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα
βέβρυχεν[1] ῥόθιον.

Il. xi. 306.

ἀργέσταο Νότοιο βαθείῃ λαίλαπι τύπτων,
πολλὸν δὲ τρόφι κῦμα κυλίνδεται, ὑψόσε δ' ἄχνη[2]
σκίδναται.

Od. iii. 289.

λιγέων δ' ἀνέμων ἐπ' αὐτμένα χεῦεν,
κύματά τε τροφόεντα πελώρια, ἶσα ὄρεσσιν . . . .
ἔστι δέ τις λισσὴ, αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἅλα πέτρη . . . .
ἔνθα Νότος μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ σκαιὸν ῥίον ὠθεῖ.

Il. xv. 618.

ἠύτε πέτρη
ἠλίβατος, μεγάλη, πολιῆς ἁλὸς ἐγγὺς ἐοῦσα,

[1] Conf. Od. xii. 242.

[2] Conf. Od. xii. 238.

ἤτε μένει λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα,
κύματά τε τροφόεντα[1], τά τε προσερεύγεται αὐτήν.

Il. I. 481.

ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρῆσεν μέσον ἱστίον, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῦμα
στείρῃ πορφύρεον μεγάλ' ἴαχε, νηὸς ἰούσης·
ἡ δ' ἔθεεν κατὰ κῦμα διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθον.

Od. XIII. 81.

ἡ δ' ὥστ' ἐν πεδίῳ τετράοροι ἄρσενες ἵπποι, . . .
ὑψόσ' ἀειρόμενοι, ῥίμφα πρήσσουσι κέλευθον·
ὣς ἄρα τῆς πρύμνη μὲν ἀείρετο, κῦμα δ' ὄπισθεν
πορφύρεον μέγα θῦε πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
ἡ δὲ μάλ' ἀσφαλέως θέεν ἔμπεδον. . .

It were difficult to imagine stronger internal evidence of unity and originality than is afforded by this series of descriptions, whether in the identity of their spirit, or the happy choice and delicate interconnexion of so rich a variety of expressive terms, scattered, under a corresponding variety of combination, over widely separate portions of each poem.

Landscape picturesque.

A question has been raised, by speculative critics[2], concerning Homer's faculty of apprehending or appreciating the picturesque in landscape scenery, apart from the animal creation by which it is enlivened. On the negative side has been urged the absence of

[1] Attention is here specially due to the peculiar modifications of the root τρίφω (τρύφι, τροφόεντα) in this passage, and in Od. III. 290., Il. XV. 621. 625., to express the swelling or "fattening" of the surge; of which these texts are, it is apprehended, the only examples in the primitive epic vocabulary. The idea recurs, however, in the fable of Trophonius, the "Water-Jove" of Libadea. See the author's Journal of a Tour in Greece, vol. I. p. 237. sqq.

[2] Coleridge, Introduction to the Study of Greek Classics, 2d ed. p. 239.; Copplestone, ibid.; Humboldt, Cosmos, vol. II. init.

finished landscape description from his poems, unless in so far as incidental to his general course of figurative embellishment. A want of taste for such description, even if observable in Homer, could hardly indeed be considered as a peculiarity of his individual genius, still less as proof of his indifference to sublime or beautiful scenery. It is a feature common to the primitive art of every country. The Muse of poetry, like the Muse of painting, in her early more genial age, selects exclusively, or by preference, animate subjects, mind not matter, as food for her inspirations. There were no landscape painters in the earlier purer stages of the Italian school. Inanimate nature is there, too, altogether secondary: yet it is neither neglected nor ill-understood. The landscapes which form the framework of Raphael's living groups are models of excellence in their kind. The analogy holds closely in respect to the more genial days of epic poetry. It occurred as little to Homer as to Raphael to embody his conceptions of mere locality in elaborate pictures. Yet his incidental sketches convey as clear an impression of the scenery of the Troad, or of Ithaca, as if the Iliad and Odyssey had each been prefaced by a chapter on its own geography. The allusions also to the more striking phenomena of nature, interspersed, chiefly in illustrative forms, over the text of both poems, are unsurpassed in graphic spirit by the descriptive poetry of any period. In their very conciseness, and the scope they leave to the imagination, they represent objects perhaps more effectually than if extended into closer detail. Such, for example, are the description just quoted, of the breakers dashing on the sea beach, between two rocky headlands[1]; that of the

[1] Il. iv. 422.; conf. xvii. 263.

distant storm seen darkly rolling over the sea, by the shepherd from the hill side on the shore[1]; of the snow, fanned by the vernal zephyr, silently melting on the mountain top, and trickling down its sides to swell the torrent in the vale below[2]; of the thunder cloud clearing off some lofty mountain range, and unfolding to the view, in the bright sunbeams as they struggle through the still lurid atmosphere, the grand outline of peaks, and chasms, and projecting ridges.[3] But, in fact, various portions of the geographical narrative of the Odyssey offer a near approach to more regular, if not very elaborate, landscape composition. Such are, among others, the descriptions of the island of Lachea, the port of Læstrygonia, and the bower of Calypso.

Faculty of condensation and amplification.

4. The individuality and excellence of Homer's descriptive art are further displayed in his joint faculty of condensation and amplification, according as the spirit of the subject might require the one or the other mode of treatment.

It may be held as a general rule, in poetry as in other elegant arts, that the nobler the object to be described, the less detailed should be the description. It is certain that every hair on the head or brow, every grain in the skin, of a beautiful woman, combines in producing the full effect of her charms. But the Dutch painter, who scrupulously copies each minute trait, furnishes neither so agreeable nor so true a portrait, as the bolder artist of the Venetian school. The reason is, that those details, although they help to fill the eye, do not come home to the imagination. The eye itself, in dwelling on the whole image, takes as little account of them, as

[1] iv. 275. [2] Od. xix. 205. [3] Il. xvi. 297.; conf. viii. 555.

a person reading a book of each letter, point, or accent, of its text. This rule applies even more forcibly to the descriptive than the graphic branches of imitative art. The destruction of a city by earthquake or fire, or any other dire catastrophe involving the fate of heroes or multitudes, if analytically set forth in every petty detail of action or suffering, would less forcibly strike the apprehension, than were the narrative confined to the few broader features of the disaster, such as would alone or chiefly engross the attention of an actual observer. The converse of the rule holds equally good. As the full effect of a painting of fruits or flowers depends greatly on its imitative preciseness, so, in the parallel class of poetical composition, a want of grandeur in the general subject requires to be compensated by graphic delineation of detail. Here, as elsewhere, Homer's practice does but exemplify the fundamental principles of his art.

In the first book of the Iliad, Apollo, enraged at the insult offered by a haughty monarch to his favourite priest, descends from heaven, armed with his bow and arrows, emblems of his destructive powers, and spreads death and dismay through a mighty army. The whole formation and execution of his fatal purpose occupies barely ten lines. For the interval between the prayer of the priest, and the arrival of the god in the camp, two suffice. "The suppliant spoke, the god heard, and, wrathful in heart, descended from Olympus, his bow and quiver rattling on his shoulders."[1] No elaborate description could convey such an impression of the terror and suddenness of divine anger as these few abrupt

[1] Il. i. 43.

sentences. Still more electrifying is the notice of the final catastrophe, contained in a single verse: "He smote; and the funeral piles burnt incessantly." The havoc of the pestilence is here far more vividly expressed, than by the most pathetically minute particulars of the forms in which it raged, or the sufferings of the victims.

With the above may be contrasted another feat of archery in the same poem. Pandarus, the Lycian bowman, is selected by Minerva as her agent for bringing about a renewal of hostilities by a treacherous attempt on the life of Menelaus. This adventure, however momentous in its consequences, offers in itself nothing grand or terrible. The chief actor is comparatively insignificant. The same goddess who instigates the outrage provides for its harmlessness. The poet, therefore, avails himself of this opportunity to enliven his narrative by dressing up with the graces of descriptive detail the exercise of a popular branch of the military art. The account of the shot alone here occupies more than double the space devoted to the whole visitation of Apollo, and funeral obsequies of his victims. These twenty-two lines[1] form, in fact, a little epic poem on a feat of archery. The preparation of the bow is first described. The material of which it is made, a chamois' horn, suggests an episode descriptive of the hunting party in which the chamois was killed. Another excursion describes the manufacture of the horn into a weapon of war. The stringing of the bow, and other preliminaries to the shot, are next detailed, with the particulars of place and circumstance; the bowman, crouching behind the shield of his

[1] Il. iv. 104. sqq.

comrades, accomplices of his treachery. The lifting up of the lid of the quiver; the extraction of the arrow; the description of it; the fitting of the groove to the bowstring; the solemnity with which the Lycian archer, like the Calabrian brigand, invokes the divine aid for the success of his crime; the grasping of the string and the arrow nick with the fingers; the stretching of the bow; the approach of the string to the breast; of the barb to the horn of the bow, are all distinctly particularised. After being gradually led by these successive stages to the decisive moment, a sort of pause ensues, in a verse indicating that "now all was ready;" and then follows the catastrophe of the piece in two brilliant lines, bringing home the very twang of the bowstring to the ears, and exhibiting the shaft flying to its destination with the ardour and eagerness of an animated being.

The description, in the tenth book of the Odyssey, of the destruction of the Ithacan fleet by the Læstrygonians, with masses of rock from the cliffs that overhung their port, offers the closest parallel to Apollo's pestilence in the Iliad. Volumes of pathetic detail could never shadow forth the terrible size and ferocious acts of the monsters, the crash of the wrecks, or the screams of the mariners, with half the effect of these five lines of simple statement. The analogy both of sound and spirit, in the verses descriptive of the actual catastrophe in the two passages, is very remarkable:

Il. I. 52.

He smote; and the funeral piles burnt continually.

Od. X. 122.

They smote; and the sound arose of dying men and shattered vessels.

Again, in the account of the cannibalism of Polyphemus: Od. IX. 290.

He smote; and the men's brains were scattered on the ground.

In the Odyssey, the fabric of the raft of Ulysses[1], the clothes-washing of Nausicaa[2], and the hero's own first and bloodless display of archery prior to the assault on the suitors[3], all supply apt parallels to the above description of the shot of Pandarus.

Among the specimens of Homer's descriptive faculty, familiarly cited by both antient and modern critics, is the comment passed by the Trojan elders on the beauty of Helen, as she is seen approaching their seat on the ramparts: "that it was neither matter of surprise nor blame, that nations should wage long and bloody wars for the possession of so divine a woman." This is the only description ever vouchsafed in the Iliad of this type of female loveliness. But the simple fact that these hoary sages should be so spell-bound by her beauty as to consider her presence within their city an equivalent for all the crime and misery she had caused, conveys a deeper impression of her charms, than pages of glowing enlargement. In the Necromancy of the Odyssey, the same means are employed to impart to the portrait of Ajax a supplementary trait, for the introduction of which the Iliad offered no opportunity. The morbid sensibility of his character, and his sullen resentment against Ulysses, are there jointly shadowed forth by a single graphic touch. When the other spirits flock eagerly around the royal sorcerer, Ajax alone stands aloof. To the affectionate

[1] v. 243. sqq.
[2] VI. 85. sqq.
[3] XXI. 405. sq., 416. sq.

address of his generous rival he replies not a word, but stalks sternly and silently away into the deepest recesses of Erebus. With the description of Helen may be compared, in the way both of parallel and contrast, that of the Læstrygonian ogress: "They found a woman of mountain stature, and were horror-struck." [1]

Epithets.

5. Homer's nice perception of the qualities of objects, in their correspondence or their difference, their beauty or deformity, could not fail to insure his selection of appropriate Epithets to define or adorn his principal images; while his innate good taste proved a sufficient safeguard against abuse or excess in the employment of such aids. His text, accordingly, has ever been a standard model in regard to this as to other departments of poetical style. In one respect, however, these expletives form, with the primitive Muse, a more characteristic feature of epic mechanism than in later times, as constituting an imporant ingredient of her poetical commonplace. In this capacity they forfeit, in a great measure, their primary functions of defining the properties of individual objects, as distinct from others of the same class; and become a conventional adjunct of the class itself, extending or completing, as it may be, the general idea expressed by the substantive to which they are subservient. Such are, among other examples, μώνυχες ἵπποι, "the hoofed horses;" εἰλίποδας ἕλικας βοῦς; φίλον ἦτορ, κύνες ἀργοί. This conventional use of epithets [2] is another of those idiomatic

[1] Od. x. 113.

[2] It is sometimes productive of curious but not inelegant anomalies; as, for example, where an epithet, conventionally common to the whole of a class, comes to be specially applied to particular individuals of that class, whose conduct may be the very reverse of the quality which the

properties of early epic art which please in the spontaneous usage of the primitive bard, but would be offensive in a modern poet, if exemplified, at least, in the same manner and to the same extent; for, under certain limitations, the peculiarity has been inherited by subsequent schools of poetry.

The most important of Homer's epithets, whether in their specific or their conventional application, are those illustrative of the characters of his heroes; and, through them, of the unity of his own genius, as displayed in the highest attribute of his art, his portraiture of human nature. To these, therefore, the present commentary will be solely or chiefly confined; both on account of their own intrinsic value, and as furnishing the requisite criteria for judging of his practice in regard to the remainder. They may be subdivided under the three following heads: — I. Those more or less common to the race of heroes at large; II. Those common to but a portion of them, whether collectively or individually; III. Those proper to a single hero.

as common to the race of heroes.

The greater or less frequency with which the more familiar epithets of the first or common class, such as κρατερός, βοὴν ἀγαθός, μεγάθυμος, δῖος, and so forth, are connected with particular names, seems often to depend on causes of a very subtle nature, shedding, by their own obscurity, an interesting light on the unity of the poet's usage. The term δῖος, for ex-

phrase denotes. The term ἑταῖρος (comrade), for instance, has the conventional epithet ἐρίηρος, denoting in a high degree the more valuable qualities which persons standing in that relation to each other can possess, attachment, fidelity, discipline. The phrase, however, having been once so appropriated, is frequently extended also to comrades whose conduct is of quite an opposite description; selfish, treacherous, or mutinous. Vide Od. XII. 397.; conf. Il. XXIII. 304. 310.

ample, literally "divine," is a customary epithet of individual heroes of various countries and characters. In a collective sense, however, it is restricted chiefly to the Greek army or nation. It is also occasionally given to the Pelasgians, in the comparatively rare cases where their name is mentioned ; but never, in any case, is it awarded, in the same national sense, to the Trojans or Dardanians. This distinction might, on first view, appear a special compliment to the divine origin of the Helleno-Pelasgic race. It may, however, be further observed, that, while the phrase is habitually applied to the Greeks under their collective title of Achæans, in no case is it conjoined with the titles of Danaan or Argive, equally common to the whole nation. This limitation again might seem to imply some superior antiquity or dignity of the former, as representing the old Hellenic stock, while the other two were held to date from the comparatively recent epoch of the Danaïd or Pelopidan ascendancy. That much, however, is due here, as in other similar cases, to metrical causes, or the mere caprice of vernacular usage, may be inferred from certain other subtle distinctions in the application of the term. It can hardly be the result of mere chance, that, of the twenty varieties of form of which the word is susceptible, several should be constantly employed: δῖοι, for example, ten times, δίῳ twenty times; while others, such as δίων, δίοισι, δίους, never once occur. Yet there is nothing in the excluded forms essentially less poetical than in the others, nor were the opportunities for their introduction less frequent.

Some epithets signifying qualities more or less common to every chief, and hence habitually used in

that general sense, will yet be found so much more frequently and pointedly connected with certain names, as to prove them in these cases to be pregnant with a more specific power. Ποιμὴν λαῶν, for instance, "shepherd of the people," ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, "king of men," and κρείων, "royal," denote the office of any king or chieftain, but more particularly that of a supreme ruler or commander. Hence, while various other heroes occasionally receive them in the more universal sense, with Agamemnon they assume the form of proper characteristic epithets. The last phrase of the three offers another curious example of the subtle law of euphony by which the poet was occasionally guided. Κρείων, on the forty occasions of its occurrence in either poem, invariably precedes a word of the same metrical value as Ἀγαμέμνων, and commencing, like that name, with a vowel; nor, with one single exception[1], does it occur but as the penultimate word of a verse.

Titles of courtesy.

6. In other cases, the frequent connexion of certain epithets with particular names, apart from any apparent claim to such distinction, seems to originate in some local or family courtesy, or in that popular caprice which loves, especially in primitive times, to fasten on individuals surnames or sobriquets, often little warranted by any extraordinary amount of the qualifications implied. The term ἀντίθεος, "god-like," furnishes an example shedding a curious light on the consistency of the poet in such minor points of descriptive detail. This title, in its general application to ordinary persons, is perhaps still more of a com-

[1] Il. xxi. 194. The vocative, κρεῖον, occurs six times as the habitual title of Alcinoüs. The epithet is rarely used in the oblique cases, except in Jove's title of ὕπατε κρειόντων.

monplace than δῖος, "divine." The much greater frequency, however, of its bestowal on the Lycian chief, Sarpedon, than on any other hero, suggests its having been pregnant in his case with more than ordinary import. This view receives confirmation from two other circumstances: first, that the warrior who, next to Sarpedon, is most frequently honoured with it, is Pandarus, chief of a kindred tribe of Lycians on the Hellespont, but far from deserving it in a literal sense; secondly, that its only application throughout the Iliad, as a national epithet, is to the Lycians, subjects respectively of these two princes.

A like importance, as illustrating the court phraseology of the heroic age, attaches to the epithet διοτρεφής. This was evidently a title of homage, familiarly, perhaps exclusively[1], applied to royalty or rank, corresponding to the modern phrases, "your highness," "your excellency." Hence, of the fifty-five times that it occurs, it is used thirty-five in the vocative case, in addresses by one hero to another, or by persons of inferior rank to their betters; and in this form frequently stands alone, without any substantive. But, although in so far common to royalty or rank in general, it is, throughout both poems, so much more frequently coupled with the name of Menelaus than of any other individual hero, as to imply that in his case it was not a mere incidental,

[1] The only three apparent exceptions are, Il. II. 660., IV. 280., and Od. v. 378. The second of the three (διοτρεφέων αἰζηῶν) is a false reading, preferred by Wolf, for ἀρηϊθόων of the older editions, in repugnance to the true spirit of the epithet. That the verse of the catalogue where the term is also coupled with αἰζηῶν should be the only remaining exception in the Iliad, is at least ground of suspicion of the genuine origin of the passage. In the Odyssey the phrase διοτρεφέων ἀνθρώπων may contain a sarcastic allusion to the divine blood of the Phæacians.

but a proper title. Similar is the case with διογενής and δαιμόνιος, terms of cognate signification, also used, the former chiefly, the latter exclusively, in the vocative case, in a like independant capacity. Διογενής is also as habitual an epithet of Ulysses, as διοτρεφής of Menelaus.

Another similar phrase is ἠθεῖος.[1] This word, untranslatable by any single English term, expresses the mixed feeling of veneration and affection entertained by one person towards another standing to him in the joint relation of parent, friend, and benefactor. It occurs altogether but six times. Four times it is used as an independant vocative; addressed, once by Menelaus to Agamemnon, and once by Paris, twice by Deiphobus, respectively, to their elder brother Hector. On a fifth occasion, it is applied, still in a vocative form (combined, according to the familiar epic periphrasis, with κεφαλή), by Achilles to the shade of Patroclus. That it was usually, if not exclusively, vocative, there is further curious proof in the only exception to the rule, where Eumæus, in describing the constancy of his affection for Ulysses, and how unceasingly present his absent lord was to his memory, sums up with the following line: Od XIV. 147.

ἀλλά μιν ἠθεῖον καλέω, καὶ νόσφιν ἐόντα.

The last clause of this verse plainly intimates that the

[1] In the language of the Zàkones of Maïna, the basis of which Professor F. Thiersch conjectures to be a remnant of the primitive ante-Dorian Æolic of Peloponnesus, ἀθί denotes brother, ἀθυιά, sister. Thiersch, üb. d. Sprache der Zakonen, 4to, 1832. These, together with θεῖος, uncle, and Homer's familiar phrases ἄττα and ἔτης, are all probably, in their origin, cognate terms with ἠθεῖος, significant of affection or veneration. The familiar Spartan form of polite address, ὦ θεῖε, may perhaps be another remnant of the same archaïc usage.

word was applied, in familiar custom, only to persons present, and that the old man's actual use of it was a species of solœcism.

Epithets jointly common to the protagonist of each poem.

The unity of the poet's usage also appears in the epithets θεῖος and πτολίπορθος, enjoyed in common, to the exclusion of their fellow-warriors, by Achilles and Ulysses, the respective protagonists of each poem; by the latter hero with equal frequency in both. These are the only examples of a similar joint appropriation. The former phrase, in its literal sense, is little more than a synonyme of δῖος. That it is, however, the more honourable epithet, appears, both from its limitation to the poet's two leading heroes, and by reference to the other objects, animate or inanimate, who receive it in a conventional sense, all of which, in their various kinds or degrees, are more or less remarkable for dignity or sanctity.[1] Here may also be noticed another curious peculiarity of Homer's usage. Various epithets of this honourable class, while set apart as exclusively proper to one or more distinguished living persons, are also found connected with the names of deceased heroes, often of such as possess little apparent title to such a mark of respect. Θεῖος, for example, though enjoyed by no other living chief but the two of highest celebrity, is allowed, not only to Hercules, but to Thoas king of Lemnos, to Oïleus, and to Mynes king of Lyrnessus. Similar is the case with the proud martial epithet of πτολίπορθος, which occurs, slightly varied on two occasions into πτολιπόρθιος, in all eighteen times; ten in the Iliad,

[1] Such are, besides the gods in the proper sense, dreams, bards, heralds, the towers of Troy, royal palaces, and the royal office, sea salt, old wine, &c.

eight in the Odyssey. Of these it is assigned four times to Achilles, and ten times to Ulysses: to the former, as the destroyer of upwards of twenty cities on the coast and islands of the Ægæan; to the latter, as the special instrument, under Jupiter, of the fall of Troy itself.[1] In the remaining four cases, it is given once to Mars, once to Bellona, and once each to two deceased heroes, Oïleus and Otryntes, distinguished, it may be presumed, in the tradition of the poet, by some special claim to the mural crown of military honour.

Epithets proper to single heroes.

7. The epithets exclusively proper to single heroes of either poem, must, to be rightly appreciated, be considered in connexion with the previous analysis of their characters. Those set apart for Achilles are, *πόδας ὠκύς*, *ποδάρκης*, *ῥηξήνωρ*, *θυμολέων*, and *μέγα φέρτατος Ἀχαιῶν*.[2] The first four embody the chief attributes of military prowess, activity, strength, and courage; the last asserts the hero's general superiority to all rivals. The third in the list, *ῥηξήνωρ*, "crusher of men," is, among all those in the poet's vocabulary, the most powerfully expressive of destructive irresistible prowess. The fourth, *θυμολέων*, "Lion-heart," which Achilles enjoys in common with the deceased hero Hercules, is remarkable for its identity with that of Cœur-de-lion, borne by the warrior of modern chivalry whose character most nearly resembles that of Achilles. This term, it is true, is also twice connected with the name of Ulysses, but under circumstances which no way warrant its being classed among his legitimate titles. Here another distinction presents itself, indispensable to a right

[1] Il. ix. 328. sqq., xviii. 342. alibi; Od. i. 2., xi. 524., xxii. 230.

[2] See the parallel passages: Il. xvi. 21., xix. 216.; Od. xi. 478.

estimate of the spirit of Homer's epithets: whether they are applied by himself to his heroes, or by his heroes to each other. A near relative, friend, or favourite vassal, may, without impropriety, be made, in the enthusiasm of his love or gratitude, to speak of a patron in terms no way corresponding to his character as conceived by the poet himself. For such expressions Homer can as little be made responsible, as for all the other sentiments placed in the mouths of his actors. Of this distinction numerous examples might be cited, among which the one here in point will suffice. It is Penelope who, on both the occasions here adverted to, in the warmth of her affection and admiration, styles her husband the "Lion-hearted." Although, therefore, the hero may not be undeserving of the title, it can no more be considered as authorised by Homer, than the phrase "detested Ilium," κακοίλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν, by which the same devoted spouse is wont to stigmatise the main source of her domestic sorrows, can be considered as the poet's chosen epithet for the city of Priam.

The exclusive epithets of Ulysses, while of a totally different description, exceed those proper to Achilles, both in number and variety, in the ratio of the former hero's greater variety of talents.[1]

Those appropriated to Agamemnon, κύδιστος and εὐρυκρείων, are significant simply of his high functions as chief of the confederacy. The value of the former

[1] They are nine in all: πολύμητις, occurring eighteen times in the Iliad, sixty-six in the Odyssey, also common to Vulcan; ποικιλομήτης, once in the Il., six times in the Od.; πολυμήχανος, seven times in the Il., fifteen in the Od.; ταλασίφρων, once in the Il., eleven times in the Od.; πολύτλας, five times in the Il., thirty-five in the Od.; πολύαινος, once in the Il., thrice in the Od.; τλήμων, twice in the Il.; πολύφρων, thrice in the Od., also common to Vulcan; πολύτροπος, twice in the Od.

is enhanced by its being applied with nearly equal frequency to Jupiter, the supreme regulator of the divine, as Agamemnon was of the human, affairs of the Hellenic world.

The only exclusive epithet of Ajax is ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν, the "bulwark of the Greeks," finely expressive of his solid ponderous attributes, moral and physical. Those of βουγάϊος, "blusterer," and ἁμαρτοεπής, "blunderer," also enjoyed by him alone, are to be taken, however appropriate, in a satirical, rather than a proper sense, as occurring solely in the taunting addresses of Hector.

Nestor's proper titles are ἱππότα, "horseman[1]," and οὖρος Ἀχαιῶν, the "guardian," or "watchman, of the Greeks." The former phrase will demand a few remarks in the sequel. The propriety with which the other is allotted to the zealous and provident old chief requires no comment.

Diomed and Menelaus were formerly described as distinguished, among the Greek heroes of rank, rather by general merit and martial accomplishment, than by any salient peculiarities. Hence may be explained, that while honoured, perhaps more frequently than their peers, with titles expressive of military excellence in the aggregate, they are the only two who cannot claim a single one as their exclusive property. The occasions, for example, where the epithet βοὴν ἀγαθός, "good at need," perhaps the most complimentary of its class, is connected with their two names, greatly exceed the whole collective number of those on which it is assigned to the rest of their fellow-warriors. That of κρατερός, a little

[1] Exclusively proper to himself among the heroes of the siege, but common also to Peleus and four warriors of the past generation.

less pithy title of prowess, is also allotted far more frequently to Diomed than to his comrades. The only personal epithet of Menelaus is ξανθός, the "yellow-haired."[1]

The titles proper, among living warriors, to Hector, are κορυθαίολος and ἀνδροφόνος.[2] That the latter, the only martial distinction of the Trojan champion, should be one of such very equivocal honour, is in keeping with the poet's design of exalting the character of his own countrymen at the expense of their rivals. The members of the Trojan royal family are the heroes chiefly, though not exclusively, honoured in the Iliad with the title θεοειδής, significant of the personal graces for which they were so highly distinguished.

Homer's consistent application of his epithets.

8. The evidence of a substantial unity of author afforded by so much harmony and consistency in this delicate head of illustrative detail, as carried through each poem, is almost too apparent to require to be formally summed up. One or two points, however, of more marked coincidence deserve a few special remarks.

The most broadly significant of the titles above cited as restricted to Achilles alone is ῥηξήνωρ, "crusher of men." Of the five occasions on which it is applied to him, four belong to the Iliad, one to the Odyssey. The term, however, as we have already seen, also occurs in the Odyssey as the proper name of a Phæacian prince, brother of king Alcinoüs. This variety of its application furnishes even more pointed evidence of unity of conception, than the sameness of the other five examples. Attention must

[1] Common to Meleager and Rhadamanthus.

[2] Once also given to Mars, and once to the ferocious Thracian chief, Lycurgus.

here be recalled to the broadly satirical import of the high-flown appellatives of these Phæacian patriarchs, as contrasted with the giddy effeminate character of the race they represent. Judged, therefore, in the spirit of that lively episode[1], this transformation of a term, elsewhere the exclusive title of a hero really preeminent for the ferocious attributes it denotes, into the proper name of one of the poet's popular types of levity and effeminacy, is a stroke of genuine Homeric irony, which it is hardly credible could proceed from any but the author of the Iliad.

Homer's employment of the epithet ἱππόδαμος, "horse-tamer," also exemplifies in a curious manner the consistency of his usage in the subordinate details, both illustrative and historical, of the two poems. On a superficial view, this title may seem to be, and has accordingly been classed by critics of high authority as, a mere military commonplace, similar in value to the modern term "chivalrous," and equally applicable to all heroes distinguished by courage or activity in battle.[2] This, however, is a complete misapprehension. There is, perhaps, no epithet of more precise literal import, or partaking less of a conventional character. It is, throughout both poems, appropriated exclusively to individuals, families, or tribes, celebrated, not so much perhaps for equestrian skill, as for the pleasure they took in rearing horses, or the excellence of the breed they possessed. This will appear at once by a reference to the passages in which it occurs. They are, in all, forty-five in the Iliad, three in the Odyssey. In

[1] See supra, Vol. I. p. 410.

[2] See an article "On the Homeric epithets δαίφρων and ἱππόδαμος," by the author of this work, in the Rheinische Museum, 1839, p. 491. sqq.

no less than twenty-four cases, in the former poem, the phrase is the national distinction of the Trojans, whose claims to it are distinctly enforced in numerous passages.[1] It is also given once to their neighbours the Phrygians. The Greeks collectively never receive it. The number of living heroes to whom it is assigned is but six; of these, as was to be expected, the larger portion are Trojans: Hector, Antenor, Hyperenor, and Hippasus. Among Greek warriors it is confined to Diomed, and Thrasymedes son of Nestor. Diomed receives it seven times. His claims rest on his constant use of the chariot in battle, on his victory in the hippodrome in the twenty-third book, and on his often expressed fondness for the animal. As it is also given to his father, Tydeus, it may be presumed to have been a family distinction. The same inference is justified in the case of Thrasymedes, by his father's habitual title of ἱππότα, and by various other incidental notices of the equestrian zeal of the Neleïd family.[2] The only other personages styled horse-tamer in the Iliad are, Atreus, lord of the "horse-breeding" Argos, and Castor, the tutelar hero of the equestrian art. In the Odyssey,

[1] See more especially, Il. v. 222. 268., viii. 105., xxiii. 348. 378. sqq.

[2] Hence their devotion to the worship of Neptune, the patron deity of the horse, is repeatedly mentioned in the poems. (Il. xi. 728., xxiii. 307.; Od. iii. 6.) That the Neleïd family, however, merited, with Homer at least, their distinctive titles of Horsemen, rather from their zeal for the equestrian art, than from its successful cultivation or the excellence of their breed, appears from several of the same passages in which they are honoured with those epithets, but where the qualifications both of their steeds and of their charioteers are very lightly spoken of. Diomed, during the panic in the Greek lines, when offering Nestor a place in his chariot, reminds him that "his own horses were slow and their driver inexpert." (Il. viii. 104.) The justice of the stigma is afterwards admitted by the Pylian chief himself (Il. xxiii. 309.), and is further borne out by the ill success of Antilochus in the chariot race.

amid a total difference of subject and locality, the epithet occurs but three times, and observe with what singular consistency: once as a title of the same Castor, once of Diomed, once of the "Gerenian horseman, Nestor."

And here another delicate proof of unity presents itself, in the minor links of historical connexion between the poems. In the Odyssey, stress is laid on the fact that the dominions of Ulysses were unfavourable to the breeding or use of horses, and that the royal family had no taste for equestrian pursuits. On these grounds Telemachus[1] declines the present of a noble pair offered him by Menelaus; and, in the catalogue so proudly given by Eumæus of his royal master's wealth, no mention occurs of horses.[2] Most consistently, therefore, throughout each poem is no title connected with horsemanship ever allotted to either an Ithacan or a Cephallenian hero. Ulysses, so greatly distinguished in the other athletic exercises at the funeral of Patroclus, takes no part in the chariot race; and, from the details of his exploits in the field of battle, it appears that he invariably fought on foot. No allusion ever occurs to either chariot or charioteer of Ulysses.

From these passages it further results, that skill in the management of the horse was far from being so essential a military accomplishment in the heroic age of Greece as in that of modern Europe; and for obvious reasons. Homer's heroes fought, not on horseback, but from their chariots, the use of which was rather

[1] Od. iv. 605. sqq. Noëmon, an Ithacan merchant keeps a small stock of mares on the plains of the "horse-breeding" Elis, but merely for the purpose of rearing mules. Od. iv. 635., xxi. 347.

[2] Od. xiv. 96. sqq.

locomotive than combative, affording comparatively little scope for the display of chivalrous prowess. The most distinguished warriors dismount for single combat, or during any more desperate conflict between the two lines. The duties of a cavalier were not so much those of the chiefs as of their charioteers, the value of whose services, and of the vehicle they directed, is more largely exemplified in retreat or flight than in successful assault on the enemy. The epithet ἱππόδαμος consequently, in its more general sense, far from implying the same high distinction as our term "chivalrous," indicates rather a fugitive skirmishing mode of warfare, as contrasted with the σταδίη ὑσμίνη, or "steady assault" of the man-at-arms. Its limitation, consequently, as a national title, to the Trojans, and denial to the Greeks, is a virtual homage by the poet to the martial genius of his own countrymen at the expense of their rivals. The distinction is also pointedly enforced by the recurring line, in which the "chivalrous" character of the Trojan race is most prominently put forward:

Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,

and by other passages where the contrast is drawn in perhaps still less complimentary terms.

Similes.

9. Homer's favourite species of illustrative imagery, his partiality for which has led him, at times, to accumulate it even to an excessive degree, is the simile. In this excess, however, there is method, exhibiting his usual tact in adapting his means to his object. It has already been remarked that the number of similes in a given portion of his narrative is, as a general rule, in the inverse ratio of that of the facts or occurrences. Where these are copious and varied

the illustrations are comparatively limited; where the events are meagre or uniform, the figurative matter often constitutes a principal ingredient of the text. Hence the similes of the Iliad, as a consequence of the greater simplicity of its action, are more numerous than those of the Odyssey. The same rule extends to the integral portions of each poem. The first book of the Iliad is remarkable above the rest for the number and diversity of its historical details: it contains, accordingly, not one simile, being the only book distinguished by this peculiarity. The same is the case, obviously from a similar cause, with the three opening cantos of the Odyssey. The battle pieces of the Iliad, on the other hand, where the action, however turbulent, is uniform, even monotonous in its details, offer the greatest profusion of similes. This may also, in part, be owing to the exciting nature of the subject. In like manner, the portions of the Odyssey where they are most frequent are, the description of the battle in the twenty-second, and of the storm and shipwreck in the fifth book. In conformity with the same general law, the poet's similes are almost exclusively confined to the narrative or descriptive element of the two poems. The dialogue, as possessing its own peculiar sources of variety or embellishment, ought to be comparatively independent of such adventitious expedients. Set figures of speech are always of doubtful propriety in conversational intercourse, especially where it assumes a more impassioned tone. Those emotions, one is apt to reason, which admit of the mind wandering in search of tropes or metaphors can hardly be very deep or powerful. Homer, accordingly, seldom indulges in these embellishments on such occasions;

and the few exceptions are as remarkable for their simplicity as for the easy propriety of their introduction.

The occasional redundance of these figures, especially in the Iliad, while scarcely justifiable on strictly critical grounds, has yet rarely given serious offence to commentators. This may be owing to the beauty of the images themselves, to the evidence of genial inspiration which their very exuberance brings along with it, and to the sympathy with which their author's own enthusiasm for his subject inspires his readers. The sight of some sublime or terrible object, of armies in battle array, or the war of hostile elements, seems to transport him, almost against his better judgement, into a profusion of equally vivid illustrations.[1] In such cases he does not hesitate to borrow several figures in succession from the same class of natural phenomena; as if his mind, once powerfully arrested by the aptness of the parallel, had fondly dwelt on it until the aid it supplied was exhausted. Nor does he disdain to avail himself of the same simile, on a recurrence of matter which it was equally calculated to elucidate. Besides the many which are reproduced in substance, under slight varieties of detail, several are repeated nearly word for word on separate occasions, and become, in so far, an element of his "commonplace."[2]

A remark of Burke.

10. Burke has remarked, in treating of the ascendancy of the fancy over the judgement in primitive ages, that "the most ignorant and barbarous nations, in proportion as they are backward in sorting their

[1] Il. II. 455. sqq.; conf. 144. sqq.

[2] Il. XI. 548., XVII. 657.; XII. 167., XVI. 259.; XI. 155., XX. 490.; VI. 506., XV. 263.

ideas, have excelled in similitudes, metaphors, and allegories." This rule he illustrates by the case of Homer, who, he observes, "while often striking out similitudes truly admirable, seldom takes care to have them exact; he is taken with the general resemblance, and paints it strongly, but takes no notice of the difference."[1]

Although the general principle here inculcated may be correct, its application to the poet's case is evidently founded in great part on misunderstanding. The ascendancy of the imaginative over the discriminating faculty may explain an excess of illustrative matter in the Iliad: but it may be questioned whether any such cause could have the effect of deadening Homer's power of appreciating that just amount of resemblance in objects which is essential to the propriety of a poetical similitude. It is not so much in the aptitude of the parallel itself, as in the precision with which it is drawn, that the superior "exactness" of the more intellectual stage of art displays itself. Burke's doctrine, therefore, may be in so far just, that while the main scope of Homer, in his similes, is to delight the fancy by a variety of elegant images, that of the modern poet is often rather to gratify the understanding of his readers by studied and elaborate parallels. The real question, however, in any such case, is not so much whether the simile be exact, as whether it be happy and effective. No such figure can, strictly speaking, be exact. A poetical simile may be defined, the illustration of one object with which the reader is assumed to be less familiar, by a comparison with some other of which he is supposed to have a better knowledge. This definition presup-

[1] Essay on the Subl. p. 19. ed. 1776.

poses, together with the resemblance affording the illustration, a difference in other respects. But it is to the resemblance alone that the comparison applies: nor is it easy to see with what propriety a poet of any age, in painting that resemblance strongly, could, as Burke expresses it, "take notice of the difference." Where, to take a familiar example, the poet, wishing to magnify the extraordinary courage or strength of a hero, likens him, when rushing on the hostile ranks, to a lion rushing on a herd of oxen, the figure is both appropriate and exact in respect of the matter to be exemplified, the fury of the assault, and the superiority of the assailant to his adversaries. Still, however, there is, both in the mode of attack and in the nature of the assailant, a great preponderance of difference over resemblance. But Homer was certainly quite as much alive to that difference as any poet of the most refined period of art would be in a similar case.

Homer's parenthetic enlargement of his similes.

11. It is, therefore, not so much in the essential character of the similitude, as in the mode of stating it, that the liveliness of an imaginative or the precision of an intellectual age is here to be sought; and that liveliness displays itself in Homer in a peculiarity of his mode of working up his images, which constitutes, certainly, one of their greatest excellences: "the extension, namely, or enlargement of the ornamental element of the comparison beyond the limits of the comparison itself." It is this elegant feature, there can be little doubt, which Burke himself had really in view, in his allusion to the poet's want of exactness. For its better understanding it will be proper, before subjoining examples, to advert to one or two general principles of some importance as

bearing on this whole branch of poetical embellishment.

There are two main purposes for which similes may be introduced: first, that of illustrating the mode, secondly, that of marking the degree, in which an action or object is exhibited. In the latter case, any close correspondence between the two members of the parallel is the less to be expected. The figure here, in fact, often becomes rather a poetical hyperbole than a comparison; and a very large difference is not only consistent with, but, in some degree, essential to, the propriety of the illustration. The danger lies not so much in a want of resemblance, as in exaggeration. When, for example, Achilles sweeping the flying enemy before him is compared to a fire ravaging a forest, the figure is purely hyperbolical. Still, however, it is appropriate, as enhancing the irresistible ardour of the hero, and the rapidity of his destructive power; nor, surely, was Homer less sensible of the difference than any modern reader. A large proportion of the poet's similes are of this description, especially in his battles. In such cases, where the actual resemblance is so slight, the species of Homeric enlargement here under consideration is less observable than in similes of a more strictly apposite class, where the mode rather than the degree is to be illustrated. In regard to these a further distinction must be drawn, between such circumstantial details as are incidental and such as are essential to the comparison. When, for example, a hero struggling single-handed against a crowd of enemies is compared to a lion keeping at bay a pack of dogs, had the poet said, as the lion fights with paws and teeth, so the hero combats with sword and shield, the impropriety would be obvious; be-

cause the circumstances which extend beyond the similitude are so linked with those that contain it, as to seem to be put forward as essential parts of it. But if, in restricting the immediate point of the comparison to the valour of each combatant, the poet were to enlarge separately, or by parenthesis, on the mode or place in which the valour of the lion was displayed, with the object merely of enriching his description, the result would be different. The following examples from each poem will place the matter in a clearer light.

Examples from each poem.

Il. xiii. 471.

ἀλλ' ἔμεν', ὡς ὅτε τις σῦς οὔρεσιν ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς·
ὅστε μένει κολοσυρτὸν ἐπερχόμενον πολὺν ἀνδρῶν
[χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, φρίσσει δέ τε νῶτον ὕπερθεν·
ὀφθαλμὼ δ' ἄρα οἱ πυρὶ λάμπετον· αὐτὰρ ὀδόντας
θήγει], ἀλέξασθαι μεμαὼς κύνας ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρας.
ὡς μένεν Ἰδομενεύς . . .

Here the comparison is complete in the two first and two last verses of the passage. The lonely spot, the bristling of the back, and whetting of the teeth, relate exclusively to the animal, and are foreign to the case of the hero.

Il. ii. 394.

ὣς ἔφατ'· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ' ἴαχον, ὡς ὅτε κῦμα
ἀκτῇ ἔφ' ὑψηλῇ, ὅτε κινήσῃ Νότος ἐλθών,
προβλῆτι σκοπέλῳ· [τὸν δ' οὔποτε κύματα λείπει,
παντοίων ἀνέμων, ὅτ' ἂν ἔνθ' ἢ ἔνθα γένωνται].

Here the substance of the simile ends with the likening of the shout to the roaring of the sea. The parenthetic description of the rock, while it greatly augments the beauty of the figure, adds nothing to its

precision; the dashing of the waves being described as perpetual, while the shout of the Greeks was but of short duration.

Od. xxiii. 233.

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀσπάσιος γῆ νηχομένοισι φανήῃ,
ὧν τε Ποσειδάων εὐεργέα νῆ' ἐπὶ πόντῳ
ῥαίσῃ, ἐπειγομένην ἀνέμῳ καὶ κύματι πηγῷ·
[παῦροι δ' ἐξέφυγον πολιῆς ἁλὸς ἠπειρόνδε,
νηχόμενοι, πολλὴ δὲ περὶ χροΐ τέτροφεν ἅλμη·]
ἀσπάσιοι δ' ἐπέβαν γαίης κακότητα φυγόντες·
ὡς ἄρα τῇ ἀσπαστὸς ἔην πόσις εἰσοροώσῃ.

The sad condition of the shipwrecked mariners, so graphically described, finds no analogy whatever in the case of Penelope.

Examples abound of this parenthetic extension of Homer's similes, in which, far from any breach of propriety, the judicious critic will discover one of their most ornamental features. It imparts to them richness and variety, while it guards against the insipidity apt to result from a formal juxtaposition of closely parallel images. It also affords a field for the play of the poet's fancy, and for the introduction of many spirited traits of life and nature, exhibiting often in more concise and distinct forms than the ordinary descriptions of his text the actual mode of his observation of men and things. In the simile of the shipwreck, for example, the account of the few surviving mariners, emerging, drenched with sea water, from the breakers on the beach, seems wrung from him by his remembrance of a personal share in some such disaster.

Other characteristics of

12. Where the image selected offered more than one point of resemblance, this elegant license of extending

and varying the simile displays itself in another mode. Sometimes the analogy to which prominence had been assigned at the commencement gives place, in the sequel, to another of a different but equally appropriate character: XIII. 795. Homer's similes.

οἱ δ' ἴσαν ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἀτάλαντοι ἀέλλῃ,
ἥ ῥά θ' ὑπὸ βροντῆς πατρὸς Διὸς εἶσι πέδονδε,
θεσπεσίῳ δ' ὁμάδῳ ἁλὶ μίσγεται· ἐν δέ τε πολλὰ
κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
κυρτὰ φαληριόωντα, πρὸ μέν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλα·
ὣς Τρῶες, πρὸ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀρηρότες, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι . . .

The figure here commences by likening the rushing of the host along the field of battle to that of a tempest across the sea. It concludes, by a graceful transition, with the equally appropriate comparison of the successive charges of the battalions to the reiterated dashing of the surf on the beach. Here again the anomaly, if such it be, is in the statement, not the conception, of the image.

Among the few similes of Homer chargeable with real impropriety, perhaps the most defective is that illustrative of the death of Patroclus by the hand of Hector: XVI. 823.

ὡς δ' ὅτε σὺν ἀκάμαντα λέων ἐβιήσατο χάρμῃ,
ὥ τ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον, κ.τ.λ.

The parallel here fails completely. No combat whatever had taken place between the two heroes. Hector was not the conqueror, but merely the executioner, of Patroclus, who had already been wounded and disabled by Euphorbus. It must be matter of surprise, how a figure so palpably foreign to the sub-

ject could ever have suggested itself. Equally inappropriate and inconsequent is the comparison[1] of Hector marshalling his troops for the assault on the Greek rampart, to a wild beast encircled by a troop of dogs and huntsmen. In the Odyssey, the comparison of Penelope[2] circumvented by the wiles of the suitors, to a lion hemmed in by a host of pursuers, is also somewhat startling. A gentler victim of the hunter's snares were more appropriate. The otherwise strongly marked partiality of the poet for the lion, as a source of figurative illustration, is nowhere certainly more broadly exemplified.

There is one class of similes of favourite employment in both poems, which still deserves a few words of special notice; where the object is, not so much to enhance or adorn the subject of comparison, as to define more exactly its relative position or circumstances, in respect to distance, proximity, motion, dimension, or the like. Such definitions, in the page of other poets, rarely assume the form of a comparison; with Homer, they furnish matter for a number of a highly characteristic nature. In Iliad XVI. 589., for example, another poet would have been contented with saying that the Trojans retreated a spear-shot. Homer dramatises the comparison, as it were, by a parenthetic picture of the circumstances under which such a shot may take place:

ὅσση δ' αἰγανέης ῥιπὴ ταναοῖο τέτυκται,
ἣν ῥά τ' ἀνὴρ ἀφέῃ, πειρώμενος, ἢ ἐν ἀέθλῳ,
ἠὲ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ, δηΐων ὕπο θυμοραϊστέων,
τόσσον ἐχώρησαν Τρῶες. . . .

In the Odyssey, instead of simply describing Ulysses

[1] Il. XII. 41. [2] Od. IV. 791.

as constructing his raft of the same width as the deck of an ordinary ferry-boat, he says: Od. v. 249.

ὅσσον τίς τ' ἔδαφος νηὸς τορνώσεται ἀνήρ,
φορτίδος εὐρείης, εὖ εἰδὼς τεκτοσυνάων,
τόσσον ἔπ' εὐρεῖαν σχεδίην ποιήσατ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

Similar is his mode of treating the parallel ideas of a stone's throw, a plough-gate, a quoit-shot, and many others. The likeness is almost always embodied as a small descriptive picture, or poetical hieroglyphic. Some of these figures are of surprising elegance and ingenuity.[1]

The intimate connexion of much of Homer's imagery with his native climate and manners renders it difficult, in some cases perhaps impossible, for the modern, the foreign, and, still more, the Northern student of his poems, thoroughly to apprehend its spirit. The classical traveller in Greece or Southern Italy must have experienced, in frequent instances, how greatly a familiarity with the topography or social habits of those countries, under every change of times and circumstances, has helped to convey to his mind the force of figurative allusions which he had never before understood or appreciated. This remark applies to many of the more spirited of Homer's comparisons cited in these pages. Such is that of the meteor which crowned the head of Achilles, to the beacon-fire of war on the distant island; of the fluctuations in the breast of Nestor, to the swell of the sea in a calm; of the damsels at the loom, to aspen leaves; of the fall of a well-plumed hero, to that of a bushy-topped poplar; of the Trojan elders

[1] Conf. Il. III. 10., IV. 130., V. 770., XV. 410., XXIII. 431. 760. 845.; Od. V. 249., VIII. 124.

on the city wall, to the wood crickets chirping their summer song on the trees. The habits of rustic and pastoral life still prevalent in Greece supply other curious commentaries on Homer's imagery; to enlarge upon which, however amusing or instructive, would be an undue encroachment on the just limits of the present subject.[1]

Syntactic and metrical elements of Homer's style.

13. The properties of Homer's style which it yet remains to consider belong rather to the form than the essence of his poetry, to that mechanism of language and expression in which the merit of all poetical composition, apart from its intrinsic, ethic, or imaginative properties, must always greatly consist.

The first and simplest element of good writing is Perspicuity, comprising a just distribution of the entire subject, a lucid exposition of its parts, equally free from dryness or diffuseness, and a clear method of syntactical construction. In these respects the Iliad and Odyssey are unsurpassed, if not unrivalled, by any other work of their class. In no other narrative of the same length or variety of matter is the general thread of the adventures more easily followed; nor can there be a better evidence of harmony in the subordinate links of the chain of connexion, than the fact that Homer, amid all his maze of dialectical peculiarity, is, to the young Hellenist, the easiest of Greek poets.

Much here depends on the poet's skilful employment of the metrical resources of his art. Epic poetry, in the wider sense, is the art of amplifying and embellishing certain elementary materials

[1] Conf. the author's Journal of a Tour in Greece, &c., vol. i. p. 64. sqq., 69. 83. 94. sqq., 232.; vol. ii. p. 17. sqq., 129. sqq., 261. 299.

of historical fact or popular fable with the graces of diction and imagery. The term comprises, consequently, in this sense, many works not classed in more familiar usage under the same head. Such are various portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, the erotic tales of lower Greek literature, and other similar prose fictions of modern times. With most nations, however, it has been customary to embody such compositions in a metrical form, partly from a desire to combine elegance of conception with harmony of sound, partly as an aid to the memory. Metre has thus become an essential ingredient of poetical style, and to metrical works alone, in familiar language, has the title of poem been restricted.

The various kinds of measure employed by epic poets of different ages may be classed under two general heads: first, those which consist of a uniform succession of single verses of similar form and numbers; secondly, those which offer a variety of verses distributed into clauses or periods recurring in a like regular succession. The former class may be exemplified by the Greek hexameter, and the blank verse of modern poetry. To the other class belong the Greek elegiac or pentameter verse, which, though originally proper to other branches of composition, was also, in later times, frequently used in narrative works. But the finer models of this kind are supplied by modern Italian literature, the terza rima of Dante, and the octave stanza of Ariosto and Tasso, which last has acquired an extensive popularity with English and German poets. The measures of the former class, while much the noblest, are also those in which it is most difficult to excel. An unbroken succession of single lines, of the same

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length and character, is essentially monotonous. It hence requires, in order to secure the degree of variety indispensable to the charm of all composition, a full command of other resources to be noticed in the sequel, which are only at the disposal of the great epic masters. In the hands of inferior artists the hexameter consequently becomes, like its counterpart the blank verse of the present day, languid and spiritless.

The metres of the second class, on the other hand, while affording to the second-rate poet a factitious mode of enlivening his productions, shackle, in a proportional degree, the higher efforts of genius. The spirit of every narrative depends greatly on its being distributed into appropriate clauses or paragraphs, involving, from time to time, a pause or rest between the conclusion of one head of the subject and the commencement of another. What such paragraphs are in prose, the stanza is, or rather ought to be, in metrical composition, a pause or rest in the delivery corresponding to one in the subject. It were an obvious absurdity, in a prose writer, to subdivide his discourse by a pause before he had arrived at the close of the matter in hand, reserving the words or sentences required to complete it for the commencement of the next paragraph. The case, if not precisely the same, is closely analogous with the poetical paragraph or stanza. Hence, authors who adopt that measure study, as a general rule, that the sense should run on, without serious interruption, through each stanza, and be brought to a more or less decided rest at its close. But, as it is impossible that the subordinate heads of an extensive subject should all spontaneously adapt themselves to any such artificial

clauses, this coincidence can only be obtained by cramping the free course of the narrative. Where, on the other hand, the poet is obliged, by the necessities of his subject, to carry on the connexion of the text from the end of one stanza to the beginning of another, we cannot but be sensible of a serious incongruity between arrangement and sense; although one to which habit may, as to other defects, in some degree reconcile us.

It is plain, therefore, without detracting from the real excellence of the great writers by whom this species of measure has been preferred, that it owes its origin to the efforts of an inferior order of genius to impart adventitious liveliness to a poetical text, and evade the monotony resulting from an unskilful use of the simpler mechanism of the antient masters. These remarks apply still more pointedly to that other expedient of modern poetry, rhyme, the habitual accompaniment of the modern epic stanza; in its origin the resource of a barbarous age, but similarly ennobled by the practice of many excellent poets. Rhyme, in the modern sense, was unknown to the Greeks, although, as will presently appear, they were not insensible to the effect of a recurrence of unison terminations in poetry.

Hexameter verse.

14. The origin of the hexameter verse, the earliest and noblest monument of Greek metrical invention, is lost in the mists of antiquity. To Homer, however, may safely be awarded the honour of having carried it to perfection. Its limits are a just medium between the undue extension which produces languor, and the opposite extreme of brevity which tends to cramp the freedom of a continuous text. While its facility of combination into masses offers every scope

for prolongation of the textual clauses, its varieties of cæsure supply equal facilities for subdivision and conciseness of expression. The free alternation of dactyl and spondee, while admitting, in each verse, every modification of which the dactylic metre is capable, imparts also to different verses, or parts of verses, as occasion may require, the varied character of the anapæstic, choraïc, and indeed almost every other variety of measure. Of these expedients Homer has availed himself with his usual tact. No conceivable arrangement of words could produce a more vivid expression of rapidity, ardour, impetuosity, than the succession of his dactylic feet; of tardiness and laborious effort, than the long-drawn continuity of his spondees; of alternate energy and languor, activity and repose, than the skilful combination of the two; or of suddenness, abruptness, hesitation, than the apt disposition of his cæsures. With Homer, therefore, the hexameter verse not only does not interfere with the just amount of individuality in the separate heads of his narrative, but may even tend to give him an advantage in this respect over the prose writer, by the additional means it supplies of rounding off the subdivisions of the text, and allotting to each its own characteristic flow of numbers.

The value of these combined properties of the hexameter verse in imparting emphasis and precision to the more strictly dramatic element of the poems, to the turns of the grave debate, the fierce altercation, or the familiar dialogue, is too obvious to require any specific illustration. In the purely narrative department of the text, the same effects may be exemplified, among other passages of the Iliad, by the description of the shield of Achilles. This brilliant

episode subdivides itself, in the natural order of its materials, into separate sections or heads, each comprising a new picture of life and manners. But the spirit and individuality of those pictures are greatly due to the metrical arrangement, aided by the usual recurrence, under slight varieties, of expressive epic forms. The whole series thus partakes somewhat of the symmetry, free from the formality, of a choric ode. Its clauses form, as it were, a succession of strophes, of which the introductory and closing paragraphs are the proœmium and epode. In the Odyssey, the Necromancy of Ulysses is, in its essential features, closely parallel. The descriptions of the successive objects of wonder or terror, presented to the view of the Tartarian voyager, are subdivided and rounded off with the same distinctive propriety of expression and numbers, and the same recurrence of emphatic forms. The several stages and vicissitudes of the hero's terrestrial voyage are similarly marked out and distinguished by this ingenious exercise of poetical rhetoric.

Adaptation of sound to sense in the choice of phrases,

15. Homer's faculty of adapting, not only the measure, but the sound of his language, to the idea to be expressed, is a characteristic of his Muse to which attention has frequently been called in the course of this analysis. It is one, however, the more full consideration of which connects itself naturally with that of the mechanical aids on which it so mainly depends; among which, unquestionably, the most important are those above noticed as inherent in the genius of the hexameter verse.

The most familiar modes in which this faculty may be exercised are those classed under the technical head of onomatopœia, where certain words convey,

by the smoothness or harshness, languor or liveliness, of their sound, a corresponding impression of the object they denote. By a more extended application of the same means, whole sentences or paragraphs may be invested with a like power of reflecting the character, not merely of individual objects, but of events, scenery, or moods of mind. Among the examples of the latter more rare and delicate exercise of this species of poetical mechanism may be cited the contrast between the exordium of the narrative of Ulysses in the banqueting-hall of Alcinoüs, and that with which the old peasant, Eumæus, introduces a similar tale addressed to the disguised hero on the night of his arrival at the hut. In the former, how finely do the smooth flow and elegant amplitude of construction and measure harmonise with the festive pomp of the royal board, and the character of the guests who sat around it: Od. IX. 2.

Ἀλκίνοε κρεῖον, πάντων ἀριδείκετε λαῶν,
ἦτοι μὲν τόδε καλὸν ἀκουέμεν ἐστὶν ἀοιδοῦ
τοιοῦδ', οἷος ὅδ' ἐστί, θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιος αὐδήν.
οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγέ τί φημι τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι,
ἢ ὅτ' ἂν εὐφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ κάτα δῆμον ἅπαντα,
δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ. . .

In the other passage, every word and sentence breathes the homely placidity of the fireside dialogue, in the still seclusion of the landward cottage: Od. XV. 390.

ξεῖν', ἐπεὶ ἆρ δὴ ταῦτά μ' ἀνείρεαι ἠδὲ μεταλλᾷς,
σιγῇ νῦν ξυνίει καὶ τέρπεο· πῖνέ τε οἶνον
ἥμενος· αἵδε δὲ νύκτες ἀθέσφατοι· ἔστι μὲν εὕδειν,
ἔστι δὲ τερπομένοισιν ἀκούειν· οὐδέ τί σε χρή,
πρὶν ὥρῃ, καταλέχθαι· ἀνίη καὶ πολὺς ὕπνος. . . .

A striking illustration of the effect of letters and syllables in enhancing the idea of scorn and contempt has already been cited from the Iliad, where Achilles compares the dependance of Atrides on his services, to that of the unfledged nestling on the nurseful care of the parent bird: Il. IX. 323.

ὡς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρῃσι
μάσταχ' ἑπεί κε λάβῃσι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ.

The reiteration of low sibilant sounds here adapts itself with singular effect to the spirit of the figure.[1]

It were difficult for any words more forcibly to express the fierce collision and determined conflict of hostile bands than the following two noble lines from the "Shield of Achilles,"

στησάμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας,
βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείῃσιν.

repeated under appropriate modification in Od. IX. 54. Nor could the "rushing of the rapid river over its reedy bed" be better brought home to the ear than in the neighbouring verse: 576.

πὰρ ποταμὸν κελάδοντα, παρὰ ῥοδανὸν δονακῆα. . . .

The bustle of a galley getting under weigh, and issuing from port, is painted rather than described in the familiar passage of the Odyssey:

οἱ δ' αἶψ' εἴσβαινον, καὶ ἐπὶ κληῖσι κάθιζον,
ἑξῆς δ' ἑζόμενοι πολιὴν ἅλα τύπτον ἐρετμοῖς.

Some of the texts adduced by the antients in illustration of this peculiarity are almost too trite for citation. Such is the line,

βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

[1] Conf. Il. v. 778.

contrasting the silent indignation of the old priest with the boisterous roaring of the surge. The whole series of passages quoted in a former page from the poet's maritime descriptions is little else than a running commentary on our present text. In the account of the giants' attempt to scale heaven by heaping mountains one upon the other, Od. XI. 315.

Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

the tardy swell of the first line, succeeded by the impetuous flow of the second, expresses, with equal effect, the laborious effort and the reckless audacity of the rebellious project. Similar is the contrast, in the account of the punishment of Sisyphus, between the painful exertion of the sufferer slowly toiling up the hill with his burthen, and the rapidity of its headlong career backwards from the summit to the bottom: Od. XI. 594.

ἦτοι ὁ μὲν, σκηριπτόμενος χερσίν τε ποσίντε,
λᾶαν ἄνω ὤθεσκε ποτὶ λόφον· ἀλλ' ὅτε μέλλοι,
ἄκρον ὑπερβαλέειν, τοτ' ἀποστρέψασκε κραταιΐς·
αὖτις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.[1]

The initial phrase of the last line, slightly varied into αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα, as the opening of a pure dactylic verse, is in both poems a favourite mode of expressing sudden and energetic motion:

Il. XX. 138.
εἰ δέ κ' Ἄρης ἄρχωσι μάχης, ἢ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, . . .
αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἄμμι παρ' αὐτόφι νεῖκος ὀρεῖται.

[1] Conf. Il. XIII. 139.
ῥήξας ἀσπέτῳ ὄμβρῳ ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης . . .

Od. xi. 636.

αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ νῆα κίων ἐκέλευσεν ἑταίρους. . . .

Il. xix. 242.

αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ἅμα μῦθος ἔην τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον.

The idea of succession, repetition, vicissitude, is represented in the same lively manner, in a number of passages, by the adverb ἄλλοτε; as in the description of the alternate life and death of the twin heroes, Castor and Pollux: Od. xi. 302.

ἄλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
τεθνᾶσιν, τιμὴν δὲ λελόγχασ' ἶσα θεοῖσι.

and the busy motion of the self-acting bellows in the forge of Vulcan: Il. xviii. 473.

ἄλλοτε μὲν σπεύδοντι παρέμμεναι ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε,
ὅππως Ἥφαιστός τ' ἐθέλοι καὶ ἔργον ἄνοιτο.

or the rushing to and fro of Hector on the battle field: Il. xviii. 159.

ἄλλοτ' ἐπαΐξασκε κατὰ μόθον, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε,
στάσκε μέγα ἰάχων . . . .

and the alternate ebb and flow of grief in the breast of Menelaus: Od. iv. 102.

ἀλλοτε μέν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
παύομαι. . . .

These passages, the list of which might be infinitely extended [1], are those characterised by Aristotle [2] as "living phrases," or "phrases of motion."

16. The nice association between sound and sense, in the mind of Homer, is further exemplified in his

in the position of phrases.

[1] Those here selected are chiefly such as illustrate the identity of usage in the two poems.

[2] ἐμψύχους λέξεις· κινούμενα ὀνόματα. Schol. Venet. ad Il. i. 303. 481.

mode of enhancing the power of certain expressive words by the place allotted them in the verse. The positions most favourable to this object are the beginning and end of a line. In the beginning terms of a lively emphatic character, at the close those of a more languid or placid description, are adapted respectively to produce their full effect. Of the former class the term βάλλω may here be taken as an example. The sound of this word, in its simple bisyllabic form, is singularly adapted to its primary signification, "smite," or "strike." Accordingly, on the numerous occasions of its occurrence in this emphatic form and sense, it is placed, with scarcely an exception, if indeed one can be found, at the commencement of the line. The two following passages, one from each poem, are as remarkable for the illustration they afford of this rule, as for their parallel with each other. In the first act of the Iliad, the wrathful Apollo,

βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιείς,
βάλλ'· αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί.

where the emphasis is greatly augmented by the pause which succeeds. Compare the account of the fleet of Ulysses destroyed by the Læstrygonians: Od. X. 121.

ἀνδραχθέσι χερμαδίοισιν
βάλλον· ἄφαρ δὲ κακὸς κόναβος κατὰ νῆας ὀρώρει.

The verb κόπτω, of cognate sense and power, is also habitually, if not invariably, assigned the same post of honour, and, in the description of the butchery of the Ithacan sailors by Polyphemus, is supported by the same emphatic pause: Od. IX. 289.

ὥστε σκύλακας, ποτὶ γαίῃ
κόπτ'· ἐκ δ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέε . . . .

Similar is the case with πλήγω, and the imperatives ἔρρε, ἐρρέτω, ἔρδ', ἔρξον. The reproachful epithet σχέτλιος, usually employed with vocative power, occurs thirty-three times at the beginning of the line, with scarcely an exception in favour of any other position.

On the other hand, it can hardly be the result of mere accident, that various words expressive of repose, unconcern, and the like, should with equal constancy be placed at the close of the verse. The adjective ἔκηλος, for example, out of nineteen times that it occurs in either poem, is found no less than seventeen in this position. In ten out of these seventeen it is also preceded, especially where it takes a contemptuous turn, by a particle of kindred tone, as in the scornful anathema of Achilles against Agamemnon: Il. IX. 376.

ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος
ἐρρέτω! ἐκ γὰρ εὖ φρένας εἵλετο μητίετα Ζεύς.

and in the injunction of the insolent Antinoüs to the disguised Ulysses: Od. XXI. 309.

ἀλλὰ ἔκηλος
πῖνέ τε· μηδ' ἐρίδαινε μετ' ἀνδράσι κουροτέροισι.

The verb πειρητίζειν, above illustrated, invariably occurs at the close of the verse; the position most favourable to the idea of doubt or hesitation which it expresses.

In this, as in other features of genuine Homeric style, the harmony of spirit and method which pervades the two poems finds no correspondence in the other primitive representatives of the epic minstrelsy. Even where the phrases employed are not altogether peculiar to the Iliad and Odyssey, yet the mode of

their employment is so exclusively so, as the more convincingly to prove both the sameness and the singleness of genius in the two poems.

Alliteration and Rhyme in Homer.

17. It yet remains to consider a peculiarity of verbal mechanism in Homer's style, which may be classed in its several varieties under the technical term of Alliteration. It will here be necessary to enter at greater detail than were otherwise desirable, on a somewhat technical head of metrical analysis, owing to its having received less attention on the part of professional critics than its real curiosity and importance deserve.

The term Alliteration, in the wider sense, comprehends every correspondence in sound between the letters or syllables of words, either contiguous, or so little remote from each other that the sameness strikes forcibly on the ear.[1] In the nicer definition of the schools, however, the phrase is usually restricted to such coincidences between initial and medial letters or syllables. The same correspondence of sound in the endings of words, whether at the close of neighbouring verses or of rhythmical clauses of the same verse, falls under the more familiar denomination of Rhyme, or, in the technical language of Greek cri-

[1] Another figure of speech, occasionally though improperly comprised under the general head of Alliteration, is that known by the technical name of Epanalepsis, or the emphatic reiteration of certain more prominent phrases of a sentence, for example:

Il. xxiii. 641. οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἔσαν ξύνιμοι· ὁ μὲν ἕμπεδον ἡνιόχευεν,
ἕμπεδον ἡνιόχευ', ὁ δ' ἄρα μάστιγι κέλευεν.

Od. i. 22. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε τηλόθ' ἐόντας,
Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ ἔιχθὰ ἔεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνἔρῶν.

This, however, is a rhetorical expedient common to writers in prose and verse of every age, and which here demands no separate share of attention as being neither employed by Homer to such an extent, nor with any such peculiarity of method, as to constitute a distinctive feature of his style.

ticism, "homœoteleutic metre." Avoiding this latter scholastic definition, we shall here consider the two classes under the titles of Simple Alliteration, and Terminal Alliteration, or Rhyme.

The examples of Simple Alliteration in Homer and in Greek composition generally, are rare. With the poet, the greater part of the few that occur may be said to affect the sense as much as the sound, and hence rank more properly under the head of etymological pun, or play of words, already illustrated. Such are *νηήσας εὖ νῆας*, *πῆλαι Πηλιάδα μελίην*, and other similar cases formerly cited. It seems doubtful whether Homer has ever resorted to this expedient[1] for the purpose of adding, through the medium of sound alone, an emphatic quaintness to his text. The phrases: *πόλεμον πολεμίζειν*, *βουλὰς βουλεύειν*, *ἐμάχοντο μάχην*, and others similar, can hardly be taken into account, as suggested, in the few instances in which they occur, by the ordinary flow of epic language.

Far more prevalent in Homer is the Terminal class of Alliteration, or Rhyme. Although this mode of imparting harmony to metrical composition was never countenanced in classical Greek poetry on the systematic principle of the present day, there is reason to believe that the Greek ear was not insensible to its effect. How far this may have been the case with Homer or his audience, is a question of great nicety. That rhyming verses, or cæsures, are numerous, almost innumerable in both poems, is a fact which must be familiar to every more careful student of

[1] With Latin poets of all ages, especially the early comedians, it was very popular. Perhaps the nearest approach to pure alliteration in Homer is in Od. XI. 613. sq.

μὴ τεχνησάμενος μηδ' ἄλλο τι τεχνήσαιτο,
ὃς κεῖνον τελαμῶνα ἐῢ ἐγκάθετο τέχνῃ.

their text. That such passages were, however, intended by Homer to produce the effect of rhyme in the modern sense, is by no means clear. The grammatical flexions of the Greek tongue, especially of its epic dialect, in their infinite variety of forms and metrical cadences, to which no modern language offers the remotest parallel, so inevitably involved coincidences of this nature[1], that it might have been detrimental to the native simplicity of the poet's style, had he attempted, in every case, studiously to file down or eject them. It is, however, no less certain, that they occur in such number and in such palpable forms, that had there been on his own part, or that of his audience, the same consciousness of sameness or tautology as the modern reader experiences in similar cases, it were hardly conceivable that they would have been allowed to remain; easy as it would have been, in many instances, to evade them by a slight modification of the text.[2] It may be presumed, therefore, either that Homer took at times pleasure in such reiterations, and hence, if he did not intentionally introduce them, was satisfied to leave them where they spontaneously occurred, as adding emphasis or harmony to his verse; or that he was altogether unconscious of, or indifferent to, their rhyming effect. In order properly to judge between these two modes of explanation, it will be necessary to adduce a few examples, out of the numbers supplied by the text of each poem. The forms here subjoined

[1] Such are, to cite a few more prominent examples: in the flexion of nouns, the endings *αο*, *αων*, *οιο*, *οισι*, *αισι*, *εσσι*, *ουσι*, &c.; in the conjugation of verbs, *ουσι*, *οντο*, *εσθε*, *ησι*, *ηκε*, &c. Hence a great preponderance of the cases of rhyming alliteration in both poems are of this nature.

[2] In Il. XVIII. 46., for example, where the transposition of *Ἰάνειρα* and *Ἰάνασσα*, in contiguous lines, would have sufficed.

are such where the homophone sound is in the endings of contiguous verses:

Il. II. 87.

ἠΰτε ἔθνεα εἶσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων.

Od. V. 113.

οὐ γάρ οἱ τῇδ' αἶσα φίλων ἀπονόσφιν ὀλέσθαι,
ἀλλ' ἔτι οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἱκέσθαι.

Il. VIII. 18.

εἰ δ' ἄγε, πειρήσασθε θεοί, ἵνα εἴδετε πάντες,
σειρὴν χρυσείην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες.

Od. IX. 185.

ὑψηλὴ δέδμητο κατωρυχέεσσι λίθοισι,
μακρῇσίν τε πίτυσσιν, ἰδὲ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν.

Il. IX. 236.

Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων
ἀστράπτει· Ἕκτωρ δὲ μέγα σθένεϊ βλεμεαίνων.

Od. IX. 481.

ἦκε δ' ἀποῤῥήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος μεγάλοιο,
κὰδ δ' ἔβαλε προπάροιθε νεὸς κυανοπρώροιο.

In the following, the concurrence is in the metrical clauses of the same verse:

Il. II. 800.

λίην γὰρ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἢ ψαμάθοισιν.

Od. II. 340.

ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἴνοιο παλαιοῦ ἡδυπότοιο.

Il. VI. 424.

βουσὶν ἐπ' εἰλιπόδεσσι, καὶ ἀργεννῇς ὀΐεσσι.

Od. XI. 357.

πομπήν τ' ὀτρύνοιτε, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδοῖτε.

In all these cases, with a multitude that might be added, the coincidence of sound falls upon the ear with the same effect as the rhyme of modern poetry.

Judging from them alone, therefore, it might be reasonably conjectured, that the poet had suffered them in his text from some similar sense of their harmonious cadence, rather than from accident or indifference. There are, however, two other kinds of reiteration of a less agreeable character: first, where the same rhymes are accumulated to an excessive degree; secondly, where they consist in a repetition of the same word. Both these cases involve, to modern ears, an offensive tautology. The examples of the former kind are comparatively rare; those of the latter are of frequent occurrence. Subjoined are specimens of each:

Od. VI. 63.

οἱ δύ' ὀπυίοντες, τρεῖς δ' ἠίθεοι θαλέθοντες,
οἱ δ' αἰεὶ ἐθέλουσι νεόπλυτα εἵματ' ἔχοντες.

Il. XIV. 9.

ὣς εἰπὼν, σάκος εἶλε τετυγμένον υἷος ἑοῖο,
κείμενον ἐν κλισίῃ, Θρασυμήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο,
χαλκῷ παμφαῖνον· ὁ δ' ἔχ' ἀσπίδα πατρὸς ἑοῖο.

Il. XXI. 523.

ἄστεος αἰθομένοιο θεῶν δέ ἑ μῆνις ἀνῆκε·
πᾶσι δ' ἔθηκε πόνον, πολλοῖσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφῆκεν.
ὣς Ἀχιλεὺς Τρώεσσι πόνον καὶ κήδε' ἔθηκεν,

Od. III. 12.

ἐκ δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος νηὸς βαῖν', ἦρχε δ' Ἀθήνη·
τὸν προτέρη προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

Il. IV. 250.

ὡς ὅγε κοιρανέων ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν,
ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ Κρήτεσσι κίων ἀνὰ οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν. . .

Od. III. 127.

οὔτε ποτ' εἰν ἀγορῇ δίχ' ἐβάζομεν, οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ,
ἀλλ' ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντε νόῳ καὶ ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ.

Il. xviii. 500.

δήμῳ πιφαύσκων· ὁ δ' ἀναίνετο, μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι.
ἄμφω δ' ἱέσθην ἐπὶ ἴστορι πεῖραρ ἐλέσθαι.

That such repetitions could possess any actual merit in the poet's estimation, can hardly be supposed. Still less likely is it, that, had they been as repugnant to his own as to modern taste, he would have put up with them in so many cases where they might easily have been obviated. The more natural conclusion must be, that his ear was not so susceptible as our own of the monotonous rhyming effect. It may, perhaps, seem strange to impute to Homer a less delicate sense of poetical harmony than is enjoyed by the modern reader. In this case, however, such more scrupulous nicety in the latter may be a consequence of that habituation to rhyme as the established rule in the more popular branches of his native poetry, which naturally renders him more alive to the recurrence of rhyming verses, as a solœcism in prose or in blank measure. To Homer, on the other hand, who knew nothing of rhyme as a system, the occasional recurrence of rhyming verses or clauses might not be more offensive than other incidental cases of repetition in sound or words unavoidable in the general structure of his language. That he would have placed, not only the same sound, but the very same word, in the ending of contiguous verses, had he been conscious of any thing displeasing in the arrangement, is scarcely credible. If, however, he be assumed to have been comparatively unconscious or indifferent in these more glaring cases, the same conclusion becomes imperative in regard to the others. It is probable, therefore, that these rhyming forms were

in no case either intentionally introduced, or perhaps observed by him at all, unless in so far as they may have served, in occasional instances, to enhance the expressive power of his language. That such, apart from musical cadence, is their tendency in many cases, there can be no doubt; as, for example, in the simile of the bird and her nestlings formerly quoted from the speech of Achilles, where it is not the rhyme, but the recurrence of certain sibilant sounds, which makes up the scornful expression of the passage: but, in the great majority of cases, no such explanation is admissible.

This peculiarity, it may be observed, is common, under essentially the same features, and probably with as little consciousness of the rhythmical anomaly which strikes the modern ear, to the inferior productions of the primitive Epic Muse, to the Works and Days, Theogony, Shield of Hercules, and to the secondary poems of the Homeric school.

CHAP. XVI.

HOMER. DOCTRINE OF THE "CHORIZONTES," OR SEPARATISTS.

1. HISTORICAL DATA. OPINIONS OF THE LEADING ANTIENT CRITICS. — 2. HOW DISPOSED OF IN THE MODERN SCHOOLS. — 3. INTERNAL DATA. GENERAL RULES FOR ESTIMATING THEIR VALUE. FALLACIOUS MODERN THEORY OF A "COMMON EPIC GENIUS."—4. VARIETY OF CHARACTER IN THE TWO POEMS HOW FAR TRACEABLE TO DIFFERENCE OF SUBJECT. — 5. HOW FAR TO DIFFERENCE OF TIME OR PLACE OF COMPOSITION. — 6. IMPUTED DISCORDANCES OF FACT. PAYNE KNIGHT. — 7. ANALYSIS AND ADJUSTMENT OF HOMER'S CYCLE OF TROÏC ADVENTURE. — 8. HARMONY OF HISTORICAL ALLUSION IN THE TWO POEMS, AS COMPARED WITH OTHER ORGANS OF TROÏC LEGEND. — 9. IMPUTED DISCORDANCE OF MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DOCTRINE. MORALITY AND RELIGION OF THE ILIAD. — 10. MORALITY AND RELIGION OF THE ODYSSEY. — 11. INCIDENTAL POINTS OF CONFORMITY AND DISCREPANCY. WAR IN HEAVEN. — 12. PREDESTINATION AND FREE-WILL. DECEITFUL OMENS. LAW OF HOSPITALITY.—13. GENERAL STATE OF SOCIETY IN THE TWO POEMS. — 14. PHILOLOGICAL DATA.

Historical data; opinions of the antient critics.

1. THE question, whether the Iliad and Odyssey are by the same or different authors, must proceed upon an understanding that each in its substantial integrity is by a single one. The result of the foregoing researches will, it is hoped, authorise that conclusion. A portion, however, of the evidence in its favour still remains involved in the present inquiry. It is obvious that the distinctive peculiarities of the two works, to which, by Separatist critics, so much weight has been attached, are, in themselves, a proof and a virtual admission of unity, at least in each poem. On the other hand, it need scarcely be remarked that a large, perhaps the largest portion of the internal evidence affecting the Separatist theory itself has already been anticipated, especially in the

three previous chapters on Homer's style, and must here consequently be taken into account.

The evidence on either side subdivides itself here, as in the general question concerning the origin of the poems, under the two heads of Historical and Internal. The historical evidence in favour of the antient opinion consists in the uninterrupted course of early tradition, the deliberate verdict of the best native critics, and the all but unanimous acquiescence of the Greek literary public of every period. The opposite opinion, if it cannot be said to have originated, must be admitted to have first acquired importance, in our own age. A concise summary of the general bearings of this strictly historical element of the question was given in a previous chapter. It was there shown that from a remote epoch a number of heroic poems marked by a certain similarity of character were vulgarly ascribed to Homer; but that in the progress of the critical art this privilege was restricted to the Iliad and Odyssey. Herodotus [1] questions or denies the claims of the Epigoni and Cypria, two of the most celebrated among the secondary aspirants to the honour. Passing over less weighty authorities, Aristotle [2] sets apart the Iliad and Odyssey, not only as the exclusive productions of Homer, but as exclusively and jointly marked by those proper features of Homeric style in illustration of which he appeals to their text. He also, for the purpose of more broadly distinguishing them, contrasts the deficiencies of those the pretensions of which he sets aside.[3] No other opinion seems to have found place prior to the second or third generation of Alexandrian commentators. Of Xenon the

[1] IV. xxxii., II. cxvii. [2] De Art. poet. passim. [3] Ibid. xxiv. alibi.

first recorded proposer of the new doctrine, nothing is known beyond the fact of this priority.[1] With his name, in one of the notices concerning him, is coupled in the capacity of disciple or follower that of Hellanicus[2], a second-rate grammarian of the age of Aristarchus. No other Separatist critic is mentioned by name. Aristarchus, however, the chief of the Alexandrian school, appears to have thought the doctrine worthy of a specific confutation in a treatise "against the Paradox of Xenon."[3] Whether from his condemnation of that paradox, or from its own little popularity, it seems henceforth to have been consigned to neglect. The opinion of the "Chorizontes" is indeed frequently noticed in the extant scholia, but in the light of an exploded heresy. Amid the virulent disputes between the leading Homeric critics of subsequent ages, on almost every point where room existed for controversy, no notice occurs of further discussion upon this. Seneca[4] alludes to it as one of the fruitless speculations which exercised the subtle minds of the Greeks; and Longinus[5], in an elaborate disquisition on the characteristic properties of the two poems, on the usual basis of a common author, has not so much as hinted at the existence of a different opinion.[6]

The above facts, which exhaust the antient history of the question, comprise unfortunately, be-

[1] Procl. Chrest. ap. Bekk. Præf. ad Scholl. Ven. p. i.

[2] Procl. loc. cit.; conf. Sch. Ven. ad Il. v. 269., xv. 651., xix. 90.

[3] Schol. Ven. ad Il. xii. 435. There can be little doubt by reference to the "αὐτὸς ἔφα" style of the citation, that the author here alluded to is Aristarchus. Another work of Aristarchus, Περὶ Ἰλιάδος καὶ Ὀδυσσείας (Schol. Ven. ad Il. ix. 349.), treated probably of the same subject.

[4] Seneca De Brev. Vit. xiii. [5] De Subl. passim.

[6] Conf. Grauert üb. die Homer. Choriz. Rhein. Mus. tom. i. p. 199.; Nitzsch, Artik. Odyssee in Hall. Encycl. p. 402.

yond the few indirect remarks of Aristotle, no notice of the precise grounds which induced the critical public of antiquity so unceremoniously to reject a doctrine which has found so much favour in our own day. So unanimous an expression of opinion however, on the part of the best native scholars, must in itself possess weight as historical evidence. The simple fiat of any critic or school of critics cannot, indeed, be admitted as actual proof, apart from its own intrinsic merits. Yet it is not easy to divest oneself of a certain feeling of diffidence in adopting, on purely theoretical grounds, opinions relative to a nice point of speculative criticism in the literature of a foreign language, so different from those to which the profoundest authors in that language have recorded their unanimous adhesion; men, too, whose refined taste and consummate sagacity have obtained for them an authority in the universal republic of letters such as few of any other age or country can boast. These men, certainly, were as readily disposed to adopt new theories, as competent to uphold them. Their division, upon almost every other controvertible point of Homeric history, into factions animated by virulent hostility towards each other, is in itself a sufficient guarantee that Aristarchus and Crates, for example, could never have so cordially agreed in rejecting this doctrine, but after careful investigation, and on the firmest conviction of its fallacy. But we have a practical test of their impartial discrimination in the equally decided manner in which, while setting apart the Iliad and Odyssey as the joint productions of Homer, they discarded the pretensions of other once little less favoured claimants to that honour. The extent and subtlety of their speculations on the

genuine and spurious portions of either poem also prove that they were as alive to the importance of internal evidence in such questions as ready to turn it to polemical account.

How disposed of in the modern schools.

2. These difficulties are apt to be disposed of by the plea, that the enlarged genius of modern taste and critical science renders the inquirer of the present day a more competent judge in such matters than either Aristotle or Aristarchus. This is a doctrine which is not confined to the case of Homer, but extends to all similar questions of antient criticism. Nor can it be disputed that in many branches of classical pursuit the advance of science at large, and of philological science in particular, gives the present race of scholars an advantage over the native Greek and Roman critics. The more penetrating researches of the moderns, in the purely technical or etymological departments of linguistic knowledge, enable them to trace the origin and affinities of different tongues to a far greater extent, and with greater precision, than their predecessors of antiquity. In respect, however, to the more imaginative departments of criticism, it seems very doubtful, whether any of these advantages can counterbalance those on the side of the Greeks. It may even perhaps be a question, whether that extensive range of verbal philology which forms the boast of the modern schools be not calculated to deteriorate rather than improve the judgement, as exercised on more delicate questions of elegant literature. Among the Greeks, on the other hand, the all but exclusive concentration of literary talent on the study and analysis of their own language tended, within the limits of that language, to impart additional acuteness and precision to the discriminating faculty.

That the Greeks were inferior in native subtlety or purity of taste to the moderns will hardly be pretended. There is, therefore, surely something palpably unreasonable in the supposition that Aristotle, Aristarchus, and Longinus, with the entire resources of the national library at their disposal, were less competent to judge of the relation which one portion of that library bore to another in style or merit, than foreigners toiling by dint of grammar and lexicon through its scanty existing remains. As well might in our own day a German or Dutch professor, on the strength of a deeper insight into the abstruser mysteries of general philology, claim a greater competence to pronounce on the authenticity of a play of Shakspeare, or a passage of Milton, than Addison or Wharton. It were easy to point out instances of foreign linguists with whom few British scholars could compete in the mere mechanical or antiquarian knowledge of the English tongue, who are yet insensible to defects and anomalies in the style of its popular authors, such as no well educated native lady would hesitate for a moment to detect and condemn.

Comparatively little weight, therefore, can attach to the speculations so rife among the last and present generation of classical grammarians, relative to the genuine or spurious character of works transmitted under the names of illustrious antient authors, unless conducted under the sanction, or at least not in the face, of standard native opinions. There can, indeed, be no doubt that much benefit has resulted from this branch of modern analytical criticism, where cautiously exercised; but as little can it be denied that the licentious excess to which it has been carried

has tended both to pervert the taste and mislead the judgement of the classical public. Researches undertaken in such a spirit cannot fail to be prolific in discoveries. A mind morbidly bent on discovering flaws and blemishes in its objects of favourite study will be at no loss to find ample food for its appetite even in their most characteristic excellences. Such a mind is like the habitually jealous lover, who discovers in the most artless looks or gestures of his mistress, often in those which, to the eye of the unprejudiced admirer, are replete with candour and innocence, the strongest confirmation of his own chimerical suspicions. The justice of this distinction may be tested by transferring the same rules, now so generally received in the case of Homer, to the literature of the present age. Were the most original writers of modern times to be judged by the same Separatist ordeal as the Iliad and Odyssey, who could believe that Julius Cæsar emanated from the same genius as the Midsummer Night's Dream; that the poet of Zaïre was the satirist of Candide; that the miscellaneous poems of Dante were by the author of the Divine Comedy; or that the Paradise Lost and Regained were by the same Milton? If all historical notice of the origin of these pairs of works, or of numerous others that might be adduced, were extinct, no professor of the modern Separatist school could, without an entire abandonment of its principles, admit of their being assigned respectively to the authors whose names they bear.

Internal data. Rules for estimating their value.

3. The arguments from internal evidence, favourable to the antient opinion, have been in a great measure disposed of in the previous chapters on the joint properties of the two poems. In order the

better to appreciate such as have been adduced from the same source on the opposite side, attention must be directed somewhat more closely to a critical rule already noticed as essential to a right judgement in similar cases: "that the evidence of common authorship, supplied by any large amount of resemblance in works of the higher order of genius, is stronger on the affirmative side, than that resulting from a proportional amount of discrepancy on the negative side, of any such question."

First, then, it may be remarked, that there never yet has been an authenticated example of the same nation and language producing more than one genius of the rank and character of Homer. Italy, during the many centuries that her language has now existed, has produced but one Dante; England but one Shakspeare; the only two authors who, in modern times, or, perhaps, in any age, offer what can properly be considered a parallel to Homer. Nor is this the mere result of accident or destiny, but depends on causes inherent in the intellectual history of our species. As one essential condition of the appearance of any great masterpiece of national art is, that it should be composed without deference to any prior equally distinguished model; so the natural effect of its promulgation is to preclude the chance of similar success in other quarters, by generating a spirit of imitation, and consequent mediocrity or mannerism. The only case to which this remark might seem not to extend would be, the simultaneous appearance of two or more equally gifted poets under the same favourable auspices. The improbability of such a coincidence is in itself great; that of so close a resemblance as should cause their productions to be unanimously

ascribed, by the first native critics, to the same author, amounts to a moral impossibility.

If the common authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey be admitted, they supply both an illustration and a confirmation of this fundamental law of historical probability. In considering their respective claims to excellence, although the one poem, from the advantage of its subject, may deserve the palm as an integral work of art, yet the varied powers of the author are still more extensively displayed in the other. Nor, amid so great a general resemblance, is there the slightest symptom of imitation. That the author of the Odyssey was familiar with the Iliad has never been doubted. It were, however, difficult to show, from internal evidence, that the author of the Iliad was less familiar with the Odyssey. The previous analysis supplies a large body of evidence that the author of each was familiar with both; that the two poets, therefore, by reference to the above law, were the same person. But the modern opinion involves as signal a violation of the same fundamental law. It assumes two poems by different authors, the one an immediate successor and close imitator of the other, to be equally distinguished by the same internal proofs of original genius; by the same unity of design, the same concentration of parts around the whole, the same preference of the dramatic to the exegetic mode of management; the same deep knowledge of human character and passion; the same tone of moral sentiment, style, imagery, and versification; the same high superiority in all these attributes to a host of emulators and imitators. No such phenomenon, it may safely be asserted, ever has been or will be exemplified.

Supposed "common epic genius."

The only argument by which it has been attempted to evade this difficulty is, the assumption that the similarity between the two works reflects the genius, not of the individual poet, but of the primitive epic minstrelsy, embodying the taste of the whole nation, under the same conventional forms, in all its popular organs. That any such community of excellence in the primitive epic genius is altogether chimerical, even were the fact not sufficiently clear from a comparison of the remains of the secondary organs of that genius[1], is abundantly proved by the recorded judgement of the great critics of antiquity who possessed their works entire. The declared, the only apparent, motive with the great antient critics for setting apart the Iliad and Odyssey as the sole productions of the genuine Homer was, the number and striking nature of the excellences by which they were jointly and broadly distinguished from all the other poems of similar compass vulgarly comprised under the same title. Had those others been marked by any real community of epic genius, would not that community as readily have blinded the same critics to the difference between an Iliad and a Cypria or Thebaïs, as between an Iliad and Odyssey? But, in fact, any theory which would ascribe the composition of two such works to the collective rather than the individual efforts of human intellect is, in itself, as repugnant to sound reason as to experience. The mass of mankind are in all ages ordinary beings. The mere routine of popular usage could never originate any thing new or brilliant in art or literature. It is to the eccentric phenomena of our nature that, through a breach rather than observance of conventional prac-

[1] See Ch. xix. infra, in fine.

tice, we are indebted for what is really great and admirable in human productions.

Let us, however, be content to pass from these more fundamental principles, and restrict the inquiry to the narrower limits, within which it has been confined by Separatist commentators. The following question will then present itself. Is the actual amount of discrepancy or dissimilarity between the two poems sufficient so far to counterbalance their pervading unity and harmony, as, even by reference to the more familiar and popular rules for our guidance in such cases, to justify our attributing those other opposite features to a difference of author, rather than explaining them as the result of different impressions on the mind of a single poet?

Difference of character in the two poems, how far traceable to difference of subject;

4. Before entering on any of the points of detail arising out of this question, a few special remarks are due to the last-mentioned or "personal" causes of dissimilarity, owing to the small share of attention which they have hitherto received in the course of the discussion. Of these, the most important certainly, in the present case, and which may be said in some sense to embrace all others originating in the same source, is the difference of Subject in the two poems. Even where the varied powers of an author may qualify him to treat a variety of materials with equal success, their own peculiarity of character, such as tragic or comic, peaceful or martial, of high or low life, would necessarily involve a corresponding difference of style and vocabulary. If, in addition to this variety in the action, the scene were laid and the work itself matured in different regions, after a long interval of time, and, by consequence, at a different period of

the life of the author, the result of such a combination of influences, of time, place, and circumstance, on his mind could hardly fail to be largely displayed in his work. The operation of all or most of these causes will be pointed out in the sequel as traceable in the distinguishing features of the two poems.

Here, however, the question may possibly arise: Whether, admitting the full value of such secondary influence, it is probable that any one poet of Homer's age and habits should have possessed either the faculty or the inclination to conceive and mature two great works of so opposite a character. Do not the simplicity of design, sustained grandeur of treatment, and martial turbulence of the Iliad, as contrasted with the lively vicissitudes of events and scenery, and homely descriptions of life and manners, in the Odyssey, bespeak in themselves a wide difference of genius in the respective authors? The best answer to this objection is, an appeal to the history at large of the poetical art, which proves both the power and the will to excel in its most opposite departments to be the ordinary privilege of the higher order of genius.[1] The faculty of portraying nature and character depends on that of discerning and appreciating their varieties, and, by consequence, the modes and circumstances through the medium of which such varieties are displayed. If, therefore, the author of Macbeth could write the Wives of Windsor; if the heterogeneous materials of the Divine Comedy proceed from the stores of the same Dante; the poet of the Iliad could plan and execute the Odyssey. But, apart from foreign examples, the text of each poem supplies abundant evidence of the capacity of its author to excel equally in the style more immediately

[1] So Plato, Sympos. 223 D.; conf. de Legg. p. 816 D.

proper to its rival. The Iliad abounds in traits of the same ethic humour which pervades the Odyssey; while the Odyssey, in its turn, offers numerous specimens of the pathetic and sublime no way inferior to the parallel portions of the Iliad.

Let it, then, be assumed that a single gifted poet had selected from the traditional annals of his race two distinct series of heroic adventure; the one from the events of the Trojan war, the other from the domestic annals of the Cephallenian princes: that he had preferred, as the protagonist of the one, the haughty impetuous warrior; of the other, the sagacious enterprising adventurer: had allotted to the one, as its distinguishing feature, simplicity of design and tragic pathos; to the other, complexity of action and ethic interest. Admitting such a plan to have been conceived, its successful execution were hardly compatible with less diversity in the details. The scene in the one poem is confined within the narrow limits of a naval station, a besieged city, and a field of battle; in the other it spreads over the whole Hellenic world, real or imaginary. The heroes of the one are exclusively princes and warriors, those of the other combine every variety of rank and vocation. The whole action of the one is made up of battles, councils of war, and funebral solemnities; the other embraces every species of adventure, foreign or domestic, by land or by sea, which the realities of life in those days, or the visions of mythology, could supply.

how far to difference of time or place of composition.

5. As to the influence of time and place, it may safely be assumed that the two works must have been matured at different periods, and in different localities. Without, therefore, assigning specific weight to the speculations of Longinus[1], as based on

[1] De Subl. IX. 11. sqq.

the respective character of the poems, it seems at least a reasonable conjecture that the one must have been produced in the morning or noon, the other in the evening, of the author's life. The extent and accuracy of Homer's geographical knowledge have been proverbial in every age. The region around which that knowledge, as common to each poem, is concentrated is European Greece. With the localities of that region each work displays an equal familiarity. In each, however, the more detailed topographical notices relate naturally to the countries in which the scene of action is more immediately laid; in the Iliad to the Troad, the Hellespont, and the neighbouring shores and islands of Asia Minor and Thrace. The poet's manner is that of one speaking from the coast of Asia. The mountains, plains, rivers, seas, and atmospheric phenomena of that country all appear present to his mind. The same local impressions betray themselves in the mythological element of the poem. The popular deities combine a large share of Asiatic with their Hellenic attributes. Jove blends an Idæan with his Olympic character, and Apollo is a Lycian more than a Delian or Pythian god. In the Odyssey, on the other hand, the poet, like his subject, lives and moves on the western shores of Greece. The Cephallenian islands, the plains of Elis and Messenia, the mountains of Peloponnesus, the coasts of Epirus and Southern Italy, with their respective modifications of manners and religion, take the place of the parallel regions of the Asiatic coast. Without here subtilising on the question whether Homer, considered either in the individuality or the multiplicity of his character, was a native of Europe or of Asia, this much at least may with some con-

fidence be asserted, that each poem must have been composed by one habitually resident in the region where the principal scene of action is laid. If the author of the Odyssey was a native of Asia, his work must have been composed under a preponderance of European associations. If the author of the Iliad was a native of Europe he must have possessed similar means of identifying himself with the eastern shores of the Ægæan.

That the poet of the confederacy, in right of his office a citizen of each of its states, whose company would everywhere be welcome in its cities and palaces, and belonging to a race remarkable both in the mass and the individual for migratory habits, should, in the course of a long life, have been tempted to change his habitual place of abode, is certainly in itself a probable supposition. Nor, in that case, could his Muse fail to be affected by the new influences to which he would be exposed. If this probability be combined with the improbability already pointed out, of twin Homers flourishing independantly or simultaneously, the following suggests itself as the simplest mode of reconciling the conflicting elements of the inquiry: That the two poems were composed in their substantial integrity by the same author at a certain interval of time, and consequently at different periods of life; the one during a residence on the eastern, the other on the western, side of the Hellenic world. That the Iliad is the older of the two [1] is the opinion generally adopted by critics of all

[1] Yet it is remarkable, as acutely observed by Müller (Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. I. p. 62.), that, among the numerous allusions occurring in the Odyssey to the events of the Trojan war, no specific reference can be detected to any adventure celebrated in the Iliad.

classes, much as they may differ on other points; and it is one reasonable certainly in itself, however little weight may attach to many of the arguments by which it has been supported. It results in some measure from the historical sequel of the subject. That Homer should have composed his Odyssey before his Iliad is in itself as little likely as that Dante should have written his Purgatory before his Inferno, or Milton his Paradise Regained before his Paradise Lost.

Such being the grounds on which a substantial difference of character in two such works may be reconciled with a substantial sameness of authorship, it remains to be considered how far the specific discordances, to which importance has been attached by Separatist critics, may exceed the just limits of such indulgence. These discrepancies may be classed under the following heads: I. Of historical fact or allusion; II. Of religious doctrine; III. Of manners, arts, and social condition; IV. Of language and phraseology.

Imputed discordances of fact. Payne Knight.

6. That discrepancy of fact, even in parts of the same poem, is quite compatible with sameness of author, has been abundantly shown in a previous chapter; and the same rule must be equally or still more valid in respect to different works.[1] Something however must, in every such case, depend upon the nature and degree of the anomaly. But little room, it must be admitted, is here afforded by the poems for sceptical objection. The simplest mode of testing the value of that little will be to adduce, in the words of Payne Knight [2], a leading Separatist commentator, almost the only case to which

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] Ad Il. xix. 326.

serious importance has been assigned in any critical quarter.

"All that we learn from the poet of the Iliad concerning Achilles implies that, at the period of his death, he was yet so young that he could not have begotten a son before his departure from home. His father had sent him forth to the war under the tutelage of Phœnix and Nestor, a mere boy, inexperienced in the council or the field[1]; nor could he at that period have passed the 15th or 16th year of his age. This is confirmed by the claim advanced by Ulysses in the Iliad[2] to a superiority over him in judgement, on the ground of more mature age and experience. But Ulysses himself, when he set out for Troy, was but lately married, and the father of one child, so that he could hardly have passed his 35th year at the period (ten years later) when he put forward the above claim; nor, consequently, could Achilles at the same period have been much above twenty-five. Yet, in the Odyssey[3], Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, is described as appearing immediately after the death of his father, as his successor in all the duties of the camp and the field. For this reason alone," concludes the commentator, "we should pronounce the Iliad and Odyssey to be works of different authors."

It will be remarked that the above computation rests on the assumption, in the case of Ulysses, that the heroes married at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four; an assumption arbitrary in itself and repugnant to the poet's own specific authority. Setting, however, aside for the present the question of heroic marriages, and giving a somewhat more liberal

[1] Il. IX. 438.; conf. XI. 783. [2] Il. XIX. 219. [3] XI. 506. sqq.

construction to the texts directly bearing on the age of Achilles, let us assume him to have been thirty at least at the epoch of his death in the tenth year of the siege, twenty at its commencement, and not more than fifteen or sixteen at his final departure from his father's house to join the Greek armament: for that event, as will be shown, took place, in the spirit of the same conventional chronology, several years before the actual formation of the siege; and while the hero, according to every version of the legend, was yet, in the stricter sense of the term, a boy.[1] Nor can it be said that thirty years were too mature an age to justify the complaint of premature death in a national champion. If then, as P. Knight's own argument assumes, Achilles was qualified at fifteen to stand forth as chief warrior of a great army, he may certainly, by the same law of heroic precocity, have been capable at a still earlier age of procreating a son. Neoptolemus would hence, upon this more reasonable adjustment, have reached, at the epoch of his father's death, the same age, fifteen or sixteen, which Knight himself allows Achilles on first entering military life; and would have been consequently, as the inheritor of his father's great qualities, equally competent for the duties devolved on him. There results, therefore, upon Knight's own data, a singular harmony, rather than incongruity, between the two poems, in the adjustment of their mythical chronology.

In considering how far this arrangement, not certainly in a strictly historical sense a very probable one, is consistent with the general spirit of Homer's

[1] In the familiar phraseology of the day, he might perhaps have been called a boy, *νέος παῖς*, even at twenty; as Telemachus, at that age, is called by Antinoüs, Od. iv. 665.; conf. xxi. 21.

school of epic art, we must once more guard against the fallacy of a hypercritical exaction from the poet of rigid historical probability in his legendary details. It is certain at least that whatever anomaly may here exist was not peculiar to Homer, but common to the whole system of facts and chronology of which he was but one of the organs. That this system was nowhere better connected than as embodied by himself, will appear from the subjoined analysis of its epochs, which will also tend to place in a distinct and compact point of view the fundamental basis on which his great edifice of Troïc mythology has been constructed.

It is clear from the incidental notices interspersed throughout both poems, that the adventures which supply their immediate subject form part of a great "Cycle of events," extending over a long period of time, and which were more fully treated in what were afterwards called the "Cyclic poems."[1] As those works were evidently composed as subsidiary or supplementary to the Iliad and Odyssey, there can be no reason to assume, unless where distinct proof exists of the fact, that the tradition of the disciples or imitators, whatever license may have been taken by them in matters of detail, differed in any essential point fundamentally or irreconcilably from that authorised by the acknowledged chief of the school. It will not here be necessary to recapitulate in detail the numerous allusions contained in either poem to this extra-Homeric or Cyclic portion of the Troïc series of adventures.[2] Our citations will be restricted to such passages as tend to illustrate the question of unity or duality of authorship.

[1] Infra, Ch. XIX.

[2] See ap. Heyn. Exc. IV. ad Il. XXIV.

Analysis and adjustment of Homer's cycle of Troïc legend.

7. Helen, in her lamentation over the body of Hector [1], describes nineteen years as having then elapsed since her flight from her home and husband. She may, therefore, have been at this time about thirty-seven years of age, assuming her to have been married at sixteen, and allowing two for her cohabitation with Menelaus, during which was born their single child Hermione. The Homeric cycle of chronology, therefore, from the rape of Helen to the return of Ulysses, comprehends a period of thirty years, which may be subdivided into three epochs of ten years each: 1. the preparation for the war; 2. the siege; 3. the wanderings and resettlement of the heroes in Greece. There is something in this threefold subdivision of a great poetical æra into round decennial periods singularly characteristic of the mixed spirit of hyperbole and method which marks the genius of heroic romance in every age.[2] The chief stumbling-block with fastidious commentators lies in the ten years of preparation. Yet this period hardly involves so great a real improbability as that of the siege itself. That an army of 100,000 men, and a fleet of 1000 ships, should have maintained themselves during ten years on an open coast in the midst of a hostile country, and during the first nine without any intrenchment; that not one of the chiefs should have absented himself from his quarters during this whole period, either for the purpose of visiting his home or recruiting his forces, are facts all formally vouched for by Homer and the unanimous voice of tradition, but which, if not physically impossible, are certainly not more credible than that the same confederacy should have spent ten years in reflexion and preparation for so

[1] Il. xxiv. 765.

[2] Conf. Hes. Theog. 636.; Schol. Ven. ad Il. xxiv. 765.

superhuman an enterprise. The historical improbability of the first decennium is, also, relieved by its poetical details. Homer tells us [1] that Paris, instead of returning at once with Helen to Troy, sailed first to Phœnicia, as a blind, doubtless, to her pursuers. After his return came vain negotiations for her restoration.[2] Then follow the long and arduous exertions of the Greek chiefs to rouse the feelings and collect the forces of the confederacy.[3] After the muster of the armada, notice occurs of further delays from contrary winds, and of desultory warfare on the coasts and islands of the Ægæan (in the course of which another city was taken by mistake for Troy), before the final lodgement on the Troad was effected. These various adventures, narrated in detail by the Cyclic poets [4], the Cypria in particular, were amply sufficient, in the conventional spirit of the system, to occupy a period of ten years. That the same round number in the third decennium, though often pointedly laid down by Homer himself, was yet purely conventional, results, as has been seen[5], from the details of his own chronology in the Odyssey, where the sum total of the separate epochs specified in the action of the poem gives but eight years and seven months.

Let us then take this conventional cycle of thirty years as a basis for adjusting the respective ages of the heroes. Let Ulysses be supposed to have been twenty-four when he undertook the embassy to Troy described in the Iliad, twenty-nine at the epoch of his marriage, thirty when he finally left his home

[1] Il. vi. 292. [2] Il. iii. 205., xi. 123. 138.
[3] Il. xi. 769. sqq., Od. xxiv. 116.; conf. Il. iv. 27.
[4] Düntz. frgg. p. 9. sqq.; conf. Schol. Bekk. ad Il. xxiv. 765.
[5] Supra, Vol. I. p. 460.

for the siege; forty[1] when he claims a superiority of experience to Achilles, and fifty on his resettlement in Ithaca. Helen, let it be assumed, marries at sixteen. Her flight took place at eighteen. She was twenty-seven at the commencement of the siege, thirty-seven at its conclusion, and forty-seven when Telemachus visited the court of Sparta.

Regarding Achilles, the more popular fable is, that, as the muster of forces approached, Peleus, forewarned of the fatal result of his son's participation in the war, sent him in female disguise, while yet a beardless boy therefore, to the isle of Scyros, to be educated with the daughters of King Lycomedes; and the birth of Neoptolemus was the result of an amour with Deïdamia, the eldest of the princesses.[2] The Cypria and Little Iliad give another version of the story: that the hero's connexion with Deïdamia was formed during an expedition to Scyros, in the course of the desultory warfare of the first decen-

[1] This were little enough, by reference to v. 791. of Il. XXIII., where Ulysses is described as "verging on old age" (ὠμογέρων). Payne Knight would have had some difficulty in reconciling this epithet with his own assumption, that Ulysses was but five and thirty at the time when he is so addressed. He evades the dilemma, like so many others of the same kind, by expunging the passage. But this is not the only new anomaly which this critic would force upon Homer, in his hypercritical anxiety to dispose of those which really exist. Assuming Achilles to have died at twenty-five, and that the heroes habitually married at that age (which forms the foundation of Knight's whole theory), Peleus would have been about fifty at the epoch of his son's death. Yet throughout the Iliad the same Peleus is alluded to as a superannuated man tottering on the brink of the grave. (XIX. 334., XXIV. 486. alibi.) It is difficult, indeed, even by a more liberal construction of the text, to reconcile the allusions to the extreme youth of Achilles, and the extreme age of Peleus, with each other; unless, indeed, the latter hero be supposed to have been already long past the prime of life when he espoused Thetis, which is not a very satisfactory alternative.

[2] Schol. Il. XIX. 326.; conf. Apollod. III. 13. 8.

nium.[1] Whichever view be preferred, it results that Neoptolemus was born to Achilles while scarcely arrived at years of puberty, during the first decennium of the cycle.[2] If the young hero's birth be placed about the middle of that decennium, he would have been, at the epoch of his father's death and his own first appearance in the field, about the same age as his father was when he set out for the war. The whole cycle, therefore, may be distributed as follows:

I. Decennium.	1st year.	Flight of Helen, aged eighteen.
	2.	Arrival of Paris and Helen at Troy.
	3.	Embassy of Ulysses to Troy, aged twenty-four.
	4.	Commencement of desultory warfare.
	5.	Birth of Neoptolemus.
	8.	Marriage of Ulysses to Penelope.
	9.	Birth of Telemachus.
	10.	Commencement of the siege.
II. Decennium.	20th year.	Death of Achilles, aged thirty; appearance of Neoptolemus on the field, aged fifteen; taking of the city, and restoration of Helen, aged thirty-seven, to Menelaus.
III. Decennium.	28th year.	Return of Menelaus and Helen to Sparta.[3]
	29—30.	Journey of Telemachus, aged twenty, to Peloponnesus; return of Ulysses, aged fifty, to Ithaca.

[1] Düntz. p. 11. 19.; conf. Welck. Ep. C. p. 60.; Eust. ad Il. p. 47. Schol. Ven. ad Il. xxiv. 765. This view seems also to be countenanced by Homer in Il. xi. 766., although the passage has been differently interpreted.

[2] Is not the fact that the same Little Iliad in one place distinctly describes Neoptolemus as born during the early stages of the war, and in another, like the Odyssey, makes him figure as the most distinguished hero of the concluding part of the siege, in itself sufficient proof how little offensive such anomalies were to the taste of the primitive public?

[3] Odys. iv. 82. alibi.

This series of events, if it cannot boast of much historical probability, can as little, if judged in its own poetical spirit, be taxed with inconsistency. Nor are its anomalies greater, or so great as occur in other epic poems of historical times. A poet whose whole machinery is regulated by supernatural agency, and whose warriors are described as threefold stronger than ordinary men, was surely at liberty to represent the flowers of this chivalry, the types of this superhuman prowess, as possessing at an earlier[1] or retaining to a later age than their descendants the brilliant qualities with which he invests them. That Payne Knight's fastidious rule was as little observed by other primitive organs of epic legend as by Homer is clear, not only from abundant evidence that the representation of Achilles as simultaneously a boy in years, a father in virility, and a veteran in military prowess, was common to the whole body of Cyclic poets, but by still more glaring anomalies authorised by the same or other schools of primitive epic art, and no way repugnant, consequently, to the taste of the times. It was a favourite tradition in those schools, that Helen's charms were such, even in her childhood, as to have inflamed the desires of Theseus, and led to her rape and the birth of a child by that hero, before her marriage to Menelaus. This legend, monstrous as it is, seems to have given no offence to the antient public of any age, and to be partially countenanced even by Homer.[2]

[1] A like precocity seems to be ascribed to Ulysses in Od. xxi. 21.

[2] Il. iii. 144.; conf. Schol. Ven. et Bekk. ad loc.; Lesches et Arctin. ap. Düntz. frgg. p. 19. sq. Hellanicus (ap. Sturz. frgg. p. 115, 116. Didot, frg. 74.) made Theseus fifty, Helen but seven years of age, at the epoch of this infant amour of the heroine; and Stesichorus (ap. Pausan. ii. xxii. 7.) described Iphigenia sacrificed at Aulis as its produce. Conf. Plut. Vit. Thes.

Historical unity of the two poems, as compared with other organs of Cyclic tradition.

8. That, with the above exception, no serious discrepancy of fact between the two poems has been urged in any authoritative quarter, may be considered as in itself a powerful argument against the Separatist view. Amid so great a mass of conflicting fables as were current relative to this cycle of events, any such accidental harmony in the adjustment of its details by two of its organs were scarcely conceivable. This improbability, and the consequent fallacy of the customary appeals to the "common genius" of the epic minstrelsy, may be placed in a still broader light by a comparison of the discordances in the tradition of the other representatives of that genius, even as evinced by the scanty remains of their text, relative to the same facts where the Iliad and Odyssey so harmoniously agree.

According to the Cypria, Helen was daughter, not of Leda, as with Homer, but of the goddess Nemesis.[1] In the same poem, if Herodotus[2] may be trusted, Paris and Helen, on their elopement, sailed direct from Sparta to Troy, where they arrived after a voyage of three days. According to Homer[3], they first sailed to Sidon, and seem to have been several months, or even years, in reaching the Troad.

In the Iliad, the first illicit intercourse between the fugitives takes place after their departure from Lacedæmon, in the island of Cranaë, where they land in the course of their voyage.[4] In the Cypria, the seduction takes place while Paris was a guest in the Spartan palace.[5] In the Iliad, the daughters of Agamemnon are described by himself as but three in number; the Cypria gave him four.[6]

[1] Düntz. frg. v. [2] II. 117.; Düntz. frg. VII. [3] Il. VI. 292.
[4] III. 443. sqq. [5] Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 10. [6] Il. IX. 144.; Düntz. p. 14.

In the Iliad, the omen of the snake and sparrows at Aulis relates solely to the ten years' war after the actual formation of the siege, and settlement of the camp on the shore of the Hellespont.[1] In the Cypria[2], the prophetic import of the prodigy comprehended a number of events belonging to the previous decennium; the abortive attack on the coast of Mysia, and sack of Teuthrania; the dispersion of the fleet by a storm, the marriage of Achilles at Scyros, the return of the fleet to Aulis, and remuster of the forces in that port; the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and various other adventures prior to the first lodgement on the Troad.

In the Iliad, Calchas, by his divine inspiration, guides the Greek fleet from Aulis to Troy. In the Cypria, Telephus, an Asiatic chief, is engaged for this purpose, after a vain attempt of the Greeks to find their own way.[3]

In the Cypria, Protesilaus is slain by Hector.[4] In the Iliad[5], he falls by the hand of an obscure Dardanian warrior.

Among the higher distinctive excellences of the one genuine Homer, attention was formerly directed to his ideal conception of the heroic character, as distinguished by common attributes of generosity and personal honour. Diomed, Ulysses, and Menelaus, especially, are, with the poet, each in their respective mode and degree, among the most excellent models of heroic virtue. Not only was no such principle recognised by the other representatives of the

[1] II. 313.

[2] Ap. Procl. Chrestom. ed. Gaisf. p. 474. In the transcript of Düntzer this passage of the epitome, with another most important one relative to Palamedes, has been omitted.

[3] Il. I. 71.; conf. Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 11.

[4] Proclus ap. Düntz. p. 11.; conf. frg. XIV.

[5] II. 701

common epic genius, but the characters of those three heroes, in particular, are exhibited by several of the immediate successors of Homer in an odious or despicable light. The two former are represented in the Cypria as heartless assassins, basely circumventing and murdering, from motives of malice or sordid self-interest, their fellow-chief Palamedes[1], a person of some celebrity with these secondary organs of heroic legend, but one of whom Homer himself betrays no knowledge.

According to the Cypria, the anger of Ulysses against Palamedes was owing to the latter hero having been the instrument of unmasking the Ithacan chief's cunning schemes for evading his stipulated participation in the war. In the Odyssey, Agamemnon and Menelaus are described as having secured the coöperation of Ulysses by their own persuasive influence.[2] In the Cypria again[3], Nestor, not Agamemnon, is made the companion of Menelaus on his visit to Ithaca on that occasion.

In the Cypria, Deïdamia, daughter of Lycomedes king of Scyros, is made the wife of Achilles[4]; in the Iliad, Achilles represents himself as unmarried.[5] In the Cypria[6], Briseïs was described as captured by Achilles in the town of Pedasus; in the Iliad[7], as taken in the sack of Lyrnessus.

In the Æthiopis[8], Achilles is carried off immediately after his death, and installed as a deity in the island of Leuka. In the Odyssey he is found still in the realms of Pluto, several years afterwards.

[1] Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 12.; conf. frg. XVII.
[2] Procl. ed. Gaisf. p. 474.; conf. Od. XXIV. 116. [3] Procl. l. c.
[4] Düntz. p. 11. [5] IX. 394. alibi. [6] Düntz. p. 12. frg. XV.
[7] II. 690., XIX. 60. alibi. [8] Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 17.

In the Little Iliad, Ganymede is son of Laomedon[1]; in the Iliad, he is brother of that king and son of Tros.[2]

The compensation made by Jupiter to the father of Ganymede for the loss of his son is, in the Iliad, a valuable breed of horses[3]; in the Little Iliad, a golden vine.[4]

In the Little Iliad[5], Æneas, on the fall of the city, is taken and carried off captive by Neoptolemus. In the tradition of Homer[6], he reigns over the Trojans after the destruction of Priam's empire.

In the Nosti[7], Neoptolemus, returning home after the fall of Troy, meets Ulysses at Maronea, the city of the Ciconians. This account cannot be reconciled with that given by Homer in the Odyssey[8], of the adventures of Ulysses on the same coast. In the Nosti[9], Neoptolemus, instead of returning to his father's native territory of Phthia, migrates by land to Molossia, where he finds his grandfather Peleus already settled. No such migrations are known by Homer.[10]

In the Odyssey[11], Tantalus is debarred from the enjoyment of the proffered dainties, by their being drawn off beyond his reach; in the Nosti[12], by the interposition of a large stone.

That the inferior Cyclic organs of the "common epic legend" were, in respect to its details, bound by no more rigid law of conformity towards each other than towards Homer, is also abundantly clear from their existing remains. A few examples are subjoined.

[1] Frg. XII. [2] XX. 231. [3] v. 266. [4] Frg. XII. [5] Frag. VII. [6] Il. XX. 307. [7] Procl. ap. Düntz. p. 23. [8] IX. 39. sqq. [9] Procl. ibid. [10] Od. III. 188. sqq., IV. 9. [11] Od. XI. 591. [12] See infra, Ch. XIX. § 11.

In the Ilii-persis of Arctinus, Æneas retires previously to the fall of Troy, into Mount Ida, and escapes; in the Little Iliad of Lesches, he remains in the city, and is carried off captive by Neoptolemus. In the poem of Arctinus, Ulysses kills Astyanax; in that of Lesches, the infant hero is slain by Neoptolemus. In the former work, Priam is slain at the altar of Jupiter; in the latter, he perishes at the gate of his own palace. The deliverance of Æthra, the captive queen of Athens, is also differently narrated in the two poems. In the Nosti, Telegonus is son of Ulysses by Circe, in the Telegonia he is son of Calypso.[1]

If it be remembered that these discordances are but a sample of what the entire poems referred to may have presented, it must be evident that, far from uniformity, a wide latitude, at least in such matters of detail, was authorised, if not enjoined, by the primitive Epic Muse upon her different votaries. The evidence, therefore, of identity of author, supplied by the singular harmony observable in the Iliad and Odyssey, is the more conclusive.

Imputed discordance of moral and religious doctrine.

9. The second head of Separatist argument, and the one to which the greatest importance has been attached in the modern schools[2], is based on the religious element of the two poems.

"The gods," it is said, "are essentially better in the Odyssey than in the Iliad." "In the former poem there is more religion, in the latter more mythology." "In the Odyssey the gods appear, not only superior

[1] Düntz. frg. p. 17. sqq.; Clint. Fast. Hellen. vol. I. p. 356. sqq.

[2] Benj. Constant, De la Religion, tom. III. p. 316. sqq.; conf. 409. sqq. Nitzsch, Artik. Odyssee in der Hallisch. Encyclopädie; Smith, Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog. vol. II. p. 509. sqq.

to the race of men, but distinguished by many of the higher excellences which ought to adorn the representatives of the Deity. In the Iliad, they are exhibited as no way better than their own creatures, and influenced both in their relations to each other, and their management of mundane affairs, by caprice, sensual passion, or a spirit of arbitrary tyranny."[1]

This comparative estimate of the poems, apart from its intrinsic merits, offers a curious example of the different lights in which the same objects may present themselves to different minds, according to the medium through which those objects may be contemplated. The older more popular view of the religious moral of the Iliad, among both critics and philosophers, was quite the reverse of that above stated. By those authorities the Iliad was wont to be held up as the noblest Pagan illustration of the fundamental principles of divine justice. To such an extent has the admiration of this feature of its composition been carried, even by some ingenious recent commentators, that it has been pronounced inexplicable by reference to any purely Pagan source, and an emanation, however disguised, from the genuine fountain-head of Scripture morality.

Morality and religion of the Iliad.

"The history of the guilty and devoted Troy," we were wont to be told, "is but a mythical type of those vicissitudes of human offence and divine retribution, which mark in every age, the course of earthly affairs. Ilium was a city celebrated of old for its vices and impieties, and the condign punishment with which, from time to time, they were visited. Her career of iniquity was brought to a climax by the crime of Paris, abetted by his family and nation. The peaceful overtures of the Greeks are contumeliously rejected. The divine vengeance, slow but

[1] Nitzsch, Artik. Odyssee, p. 407. sqq.

unerring, finally overwhelms both city and nation. Æneas, who alone had discountenanced their iniquity, is spared to reign over a scanty remnant of the Dardanian race. The Greeks, however, while asserting their just rights, are not themselves exempt from guilt and its attendant punishment. Their commander-in-chief, influenced by selfish passion, wantonly offends the deity in the person of his priest, and a destructive pestilence ravages the camp. On the remonstrance of the warrior to whom the offender chiefly owed the previous success of his arms, he propitiates the divine wrath and relieves the host from the calamity, but repays the author of this timely interference with outrage and contumely. The other chiefs tamely acquiesce in the injurious treatment of their champion. Jove, espousing his cause, turns the tide of war against the Greeks. Achilles, from whom alone they can expect relief, sternly refuses pardon or succour to his repentant countrymen. His vindictive spirit meets, in its turn, with well-merited punishment, in the loss of his dearest friend. All parties, therefore, in so far as guilty, each in their respective mode or degree, of impiety to the gods or injustice to man, are subjected to their due share of castigation." [1]

Such is the system of epic morality admired by former generations of Homeric commentators, as the nearest approach to the pure Scriptural doctrine of retributive justice. By their Separatist successors the same system has been denounced as not only pernicious in itself, but greatly inferior to that of the Odyssey, which with the old school was no such object of warm eulogy. By these later authorities we are assured that:

"In the Iliad the whole theory of divine government is as corrupt, as in the Odyssey it is commendable. Had the author of the latter poem sung the war of Troy, that genius of discord, Juno, could never have been represented as exciting the passions of Olympus, and dividing its inhabitants into contending factions. The gods in the Odyssey no longer hate blindly and passionately.

[1] See Granville Penn, Examination of the Iliad; Williams, Homerus; Edinburgh Review, Feb. 1843.

They are never, as in the Iliad, systematically introduced as promoters of evil. The Jupiter of the former poem would never, to gratify the mortified vanity of Achilles, have misled the Grecian commander, by a delusive dream, into a series of cruel disasters. The Atridæ, indeed, rest their hopes of success on the retributive justice of the Deity, but these hopes are not fulfilled; nor is the crime of Paris ever seriously mentioned in the council of Jove, among the motives of his policy. In the Odyssey, on the other hand, the hopes of the guilty are frustrated; sure punishment visits their crimes;"[1] and so forth.

Religion and morality of the Odyssey.

10. To the impartial reader it will perhaps already have occurred that the truth lies between these two extremes of theory. If the theology of the Iliad be not so immaculate as it appeared to its antient eulogists, it is certainly not so bad as described by the more zealous partisans of the Odyssey. The best mode of dealing justice to both sides will be, adopting the tone of a keen advocate of the Iliad, to try how far, by the same dismal style of colouring, the divine management in the rival poem might not be held up under still darker shades of iniquity.

"In the council of Olympus Ulysses is admitted to be a hero of irreproachable virtue, and a worthy object of divine favour. On his voyage home from Troy, where, during ten years he had proved a chief instrument in forwarding the decrees of Fate, this same blameless hero is driven by the caprice of those same deities upon distant inhospitable shores. On one of these he falls in with a race of bloodthirsty cannibals, whose chief boast is their disregard of every law, human or divine, and with whom the gods themselves are especial objects of contempt. After seeing several of his comrades devoured by the patriarch of these monsters, he succeeds in effecting his escape by inflicting blindness on his enemy. The cannibal, however, was a favourite son of the great god Neptune, under whose protection he had hitherto carried on his practices. The god, enraged at the mishap of his beloved offspring, vows unrelenting vengeance against its author. Jupiter, though sympathising with the virtuous hero, consents to indulge

[1] Nitzsch, locc. sup. citt.

Neptune in his vindictive schemes, and Ulysses is condemned to wander during nine years on the face of ocean. His fleet is destroyed. His brave company of warriors perish in the waves, or are massacred by other tribes of savages. After infinite hardships he lands, a solitary survivor, on his native island, but to witness still severer calamities within its bounds. For the vengeance of Neptune extended to his whole family, who are subjected, equally guiltless, to equally cruel afflictions. His mother dies of a broken heart. His father, borne down by age and sorrow, abandons himself to despair and a life of squalid misery. The domestic peace of his spotless queen is violated by a host of unprincipled vassals, who conspire against his life, occupy his palace, consume his substance in debauchery, and corrupt the morals and allegiance of his subjects. At length a tardy compassion visits the mind of Jove, and the hero, in the end, succeeds in destroying his enemies and reestablishing his authority."

The facts here too are warmly coloured; but still they are undeniable facts; and he must be a very nice casuist who, in the face of them, can maintain that "the gods in the Odyssey are never introduced as abettors of evil; that they never hate blindly or passionately;" and that "the Jupiter of that poem could never, for the mere gratification of the offended pride of Achilles and his mother, have so afflicted the Greeks." It is indeed certain, that, while in the Iliad the general train of events, amid all the conflicting interests in heaven, is steadily guided by the laws of retributive equity, the same can hardly be said of the Odyssey. This forms, in fact, a chief defect of the latter poem. No reader of taste or judgement can fail to experience in its perusal a certain feeling of impatience, not only that the destinies of a blameless hero and an innocent woman, but that any important trains of events should hinge on so offensive a mechanism as the blind affection of a mighty deity for so odious a monster as Polyphemus.

Incidental points of conformity and discrepancy.

11. As a counterpoise to the contrast above traced in the divine agency of the two poems, attention may be directed to certain very curious points of conformity or even sameness in this element of their composition, supplying no mean head of circumstantial evidence of identity of authorship. "In the Iliad Jupiter himself is impartial, or, as minister of the decrees of fate, leans to the cause of Agamemnon. That hero, however, offends the son of a deity possessing influence at the court of Olympus. The divine parent appeals to Jove for vengeance on the aggressor. The appeal is successful, and upon its consequences hinge the whole plot of the poem, and subsequent fortunes of Agamemnon." Substitute in the above passage the word "Odyssey" for "Iliad," and "Ulysses" for "Agamemnon," and the remainder applies letter for letter to the former poem. Add to this, that in each poem, at the outset of the action, the abence of a deity chiefly interested exercises a certain influence on the course of events; which absence is, in each case, among the Æthiopians. Now here, as formerly, so obsequious an imitation as it would, on Separatist principles, be necessary to assume, by any one great original genius, of any other, in such peculiar features of his plot, were scarcely conceivable. But the parallel is quite in harmony with the operations of the same genius, availing himself instinctively and unconsciously of a similar foundation for a different superstructure.

Equally fallacious is the other head of Separatist argument, that "in the Iliad there is more mythology, in the Odyssey more religion." The very reverse of this assertion may indeed be demonstrated. In the former poem the whole train of events re-

volves on a properly religious agency, that of the great gods of Olympus, with Jupiter himself as their controller and director. In the Odyssey the action is swayed throughout by a host of petty mythological personages; Demigods, Nymphs, magicians, and sorceresses. Where can be detected in the Iliad an example of mythological, as distinct from religious, influence to be compared with that exercised by Proteus, Æolus, Circe, Scylla, Calypso, or Ino Leucothea, in the Odyssey. Nor are the defects of the divine morality in the Odyssey less plainly exemplified in these details than in the higher religious agency. What is to be thought of the morality of a pantheon, with one of whose leading members a favourite amusement was the conversion of her guests into hogs; and another of whom, instead of helping the distressed hero home to his family, detains him a prisoner for the gratification of her own passions, and does her best permanently to corrupt his fidelity to his wife!

Any inference as to the age or author of the poems, grounded on this more reasonable estimate of their religious element, were as out of place as that based by the Separatist critics on their own fallacious theory. The whole distinction resolves itself, in fact, into a difference of subject. In the purely Olympic mechanism of the Iliad, as in the fantastic or monstrous mythology of the Odyssey, the poet's object was, not so much to inculcate lessons of moral instruction, as to entertain his audience by working on their wonder, curiosity, or terror. In each poem, however, the higher didactic principle is based on the doctrine of retributive justice, in a form which, though similar in both, is undoubtedly more simple and

dignified in the Iliad than in the Odyssey. To the same fundamental cause may, with equal propriety, be traced what is perhaps the only characteristic in which the religious element of the Odyssey appears superior to that of the Iliad, the absence of that spirit of dissension, occasionally resulting in personal encounters between rival deities, which pervades the latter poem. Little or nothing of this kind is observable in the Odyssey. Minerva, by Jove's authority, counteracts, it is true, the destructive schemes of Neptune against the hero. But she never ventures openly to attack or insult her uncle.

War in heaven.

It cannot be doubted that the tradition of "War in Heaven," in all its varieties, was inveterate in Greece from the remotest period, and, by consequence, familiar to the author of both works, whether the same or a different poet. That tradition was, indeed, an essential element of Hellenic Paganism, in its primary physiological capacity, where different deities represent separate, and often conflicting, agencies. It was natural, therefore, that any great conflict on earth should be attended by a parallel collision in heaven; and that, in a poem celebrating such a conflict, the divine agency would participate in the martial spirit of the heroes. In a poem descriptive of a state of profound peace, the case was different. The gods could hardly, with any propriety, be there represented in a state of warfare. But, during the action of the Iliad, Troy was the spot around which all the elements of discord in the Hellenic world, human or divine, were concentrated. In the Odyssey, on the other hand, there is no war upon earth, and no room for any, by consequence, in heaven. The scope of the author is not to

awaken martial ardour, but to amuse by accounts of marvellous adventure, dark intrigue, and familiar scenes of domestic life. To have introduced the few deities who take part in the action pitted in mortal strife against each other, while the hero on whose account they were quarrelling was quietly following out his cautious schemes for the settlement of his affairs, would have been as great a breach of propriety, as to have represented the gods of the Iliad reclining at ease on their thrones in Olympus, while their respective favourites were engaged in fierce combat on the plain below.

Predestination and Free-will.

§ 12. If the substance of the Separatist theory as to an essential amelioration of the divine character in the Odyssey be fallacious, still less will its details bear any close examination. Great stress has been laid, for example, on the remark of Jupiter, "how wrongously the gods are accused of being authors of evil to men, who by their own sin and folly bring misfortune on themselves."[1] "Can any such noble declaration," it has been asked, "be discovered in the Iliad?" This is no doubt a fine sentiment. It is, however, but a sentiment; and it were as reasonable to maintain that it represents the religious dogma of the Odyssey, in the face of evidence supplied by every portion of the poem of an entirely opposite practice, as to assert an entire freedom from superstitious weakness in the heroes of the Iliad, on the strength of the far nobler sentiment denouncing all such weakness placed in the mouth of Hector in that poem. But, in fact, the former sentiment is completely neutralised in a subsequent part of the Odyssey, by another of the poet's pithy philosophical

[1] Od. I. 32.; conf. Nitzsch, op. cit. p. 407.

apophthegms above quoted, to the effect that "mortals had no free-will whatever, but are mere machines in the hands of Jupiter."[1] Besides, it may be asked: Were all the calamities of the Laertian royal race the result of their own sin and folly rather than of divine dispensation? Was Neptune the author of no unmerited evil to Ulysses and his family? Did not Jupiter, the organ of the above noble sentiment, indulge Neptune in his vindictive malice, while acknowledging the virtue and innocence of the victim against whom that malice was directed? Is it not said, not only that Minerva hardened the hearts of the suitors and incited them to their crimes, but actually stifled the rising spirit of repentance in the breast of Amphinomus, and hurried him forward against his own better feelings in his career of perdition?[2] It were difficult to find, in the Iliad, tools as men are even there in the hands of the gods, any thing so utterly subversive of all freedom of human will.

Delusive omens.

The further assertion that "no divine omen or prophetic announcement ever deceives in the Odyssey, as does the dream sent by Jove to Agamemnon in the Iliad,"[3] is altogether groundless. This will appear by reference to a previous chapter, where the two cases[4] of such divine treachery, occurring one in each poem, were shown to stand in so close analogy to each other, as to supply argument of harmony rather than discrepancy of religious mechanism. The circumstance that the falsehood involves more

[1] XVIII. 136.

[2] Od. XVIII. 346., XX. 284., XVIII. 155.; conf. XXIII. 222.

[3] Nitzsch, ibid.

[4] Il. II. 5. sqq.; Od. XV. 9. sqq.; conf. XIX. 562. sqq.; supra, Vol. I. p. 491. sq.

serious consequences in the one than in the other case is merely accidental, and no way affects the principle of divine morality here in question.

Rights of hospitality.

But, perhaps, the most singular shape which this argument has taken is the appeal made to "the superior sanctity attached by the gods to the duties of hospitality in the Odyssey, as compared with the divine indifference to that virtue in the Iliad." "In the latter poem, Jupiter," it is said, "neglects to fulfil the desire of the Atridæ for the punishment of Paris; nor does that hero's ungrateful violation of the domestic peace of his host seem to be an object of concern with the gods. How vitally, on the other hand, does the Odyssey bring home the duties of hospitality to the heart!"[1] The case here adduced against the Iliad is not very intelligible. Surely the destruction of Troy was a judgement on the crime of Paris, and as such is distinctly promised to Menelaus, and as distinctly denounced against the Trojans in numerous passages of the poem; while Æneas, as free from the national guilt, is expressly exempted from the national destruction.[2] But are there no offenders against the rights of strangers in the Odyssey; and how stands the divine morality in regard to them? Is not the favourite occupation of Circe, herself an "honourable goddess," the transformation of her confiding guests into swine? Is not the ordinary diet of Polyphemus, the favourite son of Neptune, the flesh of his guests? Do the gods punish him for this crime? Does not the well-merited chastisement inflicted on it by Ulysses draw down the severest weight of divine vengeance

[1] Nitzsch, op. cit. p. 406. alibi.

[2] II. 324. 353., V. 715., VI. 448., XIII. 624., XX. 306.

on that virtuous hero? Are the Læstrygonians, who emulate the treacherous ferocity of the Cyclops, punished? How, on the other hand, is the most generous exercise of hospitality in the poem, or in the whole cycle perhaps of classical fiction, that of Alcinoüs to Ulysses, rewarded? By any special favour on the part of the gods? By the utter destruction of all concerned in it![1]

General state of society in the two poems.

13. The next class of discrepancies on which stress has been laid by Separatist critics, are those in the habits of social or political life described in the two poems. Here, as in the previous cases, the argument has been mainly directed to establish that the Odyssey exhibits a more advanced state of society than the Iliad. The best evidence, perhaps, of the weakness of the whole body of examples accumulated in favour of this view, is the readiness with which the cases of distinction most prominently put forward by one commentator are dismissed as inapplicable or hypercritical by another, who as confidently directs attention to a fresh series, to be rejected[2] in its turn by a successor in the same arena. Of the few such distinctions which can be considered as involving a real difference, there is scarcely one but admits of the most obvious reference to a corresponding diversity of subject or locality; while several, in so far as they furnish any

[1] Od. XIII. 128. sqq.; see further, Appendix B. In order to spare an accumulation of controversial details in the text, the remarks suggested by some of the more subtle objections to which importance has been attached by Payne Knight and Nitzsch, the two leading advocates of the Separatist doctrine, have, both here and in the sequel, been reserved for the Appendix.

[2] See P. Knight, Prolegg. § 47. sqq.; B. Thiersch, Leben, &c., des Homer, p. 305. sqq.; Nitzsch, Artik. Odyssee, p. 404. sq.

solid ground for speculation, might rather be urged in proof of a more advanced stage of culture in the Iliad.

Appeal has been made to the more extended knowledge of distant or foreign geography in the Odyssey.[1] But is not the Odyssey, in some sense, a geographical poem, the Iliad a local one? Could we reasonably expect the same variety of geographical allusion in a work the action of which is limited to a single narrow valley on the shore of the Hellespont, as in one which, in its very essence, was an epitome of the entire foreign navigation, fabulous or real, of the day? Suppose the parallel case of two English epic poems, the reputed works of a single author flourishing during the middle ages of Europe; the one devoted to the wars of Edward and Bruce, the other to the Crusades of Cœur de Lion. Could a greater knowledge of Oriental geography displayed in the latter be seriously urged as a proof of the more advanced intelligence of the author or his age? As a more specific argument, has been adduced the occurrence in the Odyssey alone of the name Messene[2], denoting the south-western district of Peloponnesus, afterwards familiarly so called. But was it not quite natural that, in a poem immediately devoted to the affairs of Western Greece, and describing travels and adventures in that region, titles for its provincial subdivisions should occur, for which there would be no opening in a work involving mere general allusion, if any, to the same countries? Messene, in the Odyssey, is, in fact, a provincial title, Pylos being still the general term for the dominions of Nestor.[3]

[1] P. Knight, op. cit. § 47. [2] Nitzsch, op. cit. p. 406.

[3] The consistency, formerly noticed, in the exclusion of the national

Among the cases to which weight has been attached, under the head of domestic manners, is the mention in the Odyssey, and not in the Iliad, of the primitive species of inn or tavern called Lesche; indicating, it is urged, a more advanced stage of social comfort.[1] It may, however, safely be asserted, that no people ever reached the degree of culture which the Iliad itself exhibits, without having made the discovery of some such expedient for supplying the wants of travellers or idlers. A sufficient reason for the mention of it being confined to the Odyssey is, that the actors of that poem comprise both travellers and idlers, while in the Iliad no individual of either class is introduced. Nor, had one accidentally made his appearance, was it likely that a camp or devastated country would have supplied him with such a place of refreshment.[2] The argument that columns[3] are mentioned in the Odyssey, and not in the Iliad, admits of being similarly disposed of. The column is an essential element of primitive Greek architecture. The existence of the spacious halls or porticoes incidentally described in the Iliad were inconceivable without the aid of this earliest and simplest mode of constructing them. It happens, however, that the scene, during more than one half of the Odyssey, is laid in the interior of buildings, to the minutest parts of which the action involved continual allusion; while, in the Iliad, the

titles, Hellas, Hellen, Peloponnesus, from the ethnographical vocabulary of both poems, speaks far more strongly on the affirmative side of the question than such trifling anomalies of local detail in an opposite sense.

[1] P. Knight, Proleg. § 43.

[2] One might as reasonably adduce the mention of military suttlers or commissaries in the Iliad (XIX. 44.), as evidence of a more advanced state of society than in the Odyssey, where no such class is noticed.

[3] P. Knight, § 47.

descriptions of domestic life are scanty and general.[1]

But, if such arguments be valid at all, they ought at least to be consistently carried through. There might then perhaps be room, in reasoning at least on Separatist principles, for turning the tables, and maintaining the Iliad to be the more recent work, as abounding with notices of arts not mentioned in the Odyssey; some of these arts, too, of a nobler description than any described in the latter poem. Such are the trades of the horn-dresser[2], tanner[3], leather-cutter[4], and chariot-maker[5]; of the armourer in all its varieties; of the wool-carder, with her scales[6], weighing out, and fixing the price of her work. The potter's wheel is also familiarly noticed in the Iliad alone[7]; while, in the department of agriculture, the winnowing-machine[8] is mentioned, with

[1] Another example adduced by P. Knight (§ 47.) deserves attention, as a specimen of the singular kind of logic employed, even by acute critics, in the course of this discussion. "The terms κίθαρις and φόρμιγξ, denoting a lyre, occur," he observes, "in both poems; but the word κόλλοψ, signifying the pegs or keys on which the chords were strung, is limited to the Odyssey. The author of the latter poem, consequently, was familiar with a more advanced stage of the musical art." It were essential to the full value of this syllogism that we should be informed how such an instrument could exist at all, without some kind of mechanism for fastening or tuning its chords. That mechanism was a κόλλοψ. Might it not as well be argued: "Chariots are indeed mentioned in both poems; but the term ἄντυξ, for the framework of the vehicle, which occurs fifteen times in the Iliad, is never introduced in the Odyssey? If the want of columns to the porticoes or pegs to the harps of the Iliad be a proof of barbarism, the like inference must result from the want of backs to the chariots of the Odyssey." In the Iliad, the ζυγόν of the lyre is mentioned, but not in the Odyssey. No allusion occurs in the Odyssey to statues of the gods. The Iliad, however, does contain such an allusion; and for the obvious reason, that in the Iliad alone mention happens to be made of worship in the interior of a temple. Il. vi. 303.

[2] iv. 110. [3] xvii. 389. [4] vii. 221. [5] iv. 485. [6] xii. 433.
[7] xviii. 600. [8] xiii. 588.

the cultivation of beans and peas[1]; also threshing[2], irrigation[3], and other refinements of rural husbandry; and the professional voltigeur is described exhibiting his feats of horsemanship to the public.[4] Of none of these marks of advanced civilisation do we discover anything in the Odyssey, although that poem abounds far more than the Iliad in descriptions of rural and social life. Where shall we find in the former poem such indications of advanced culture as the account given in the Iliad[5] of the art of embroidery, comprehending, by obvious implication, also that of painting; or the description of the Lydian lady emblazoning ivory ornaments for the cheek-piece of her cavalier's bridle?[6] where any thing parallel to the Shield of Achilles, an episode which really does exhibit a state of the plastic art difficult to comprehend in the age and country of the poet There can hardly, indeed, be a doubt that the notices of arts connected with more advanced civilisation greatly predominate in the Iliad. Any counter-argument, however, founded on this predominance, as to the later origin of that poem, were not only a sophistry, but would involve a blindness to a characteristic distinction in the poetical genius of the two works. The Iliad, as a natural consequence of the historical meagreness of its subject, is far richer in figurative embellishment than the Odyssey, where the necessity or propriety of any similar amount of such accessaries was superseded by the variety of the general action. The allusions, accordingly, to elegant or interesting works of art are, in the latter poem, chiefly such as incidentally present themselves in the ordinary course of the

[1] XIII. 589. [2] XX. 495. [3] XXI. 257. [4] XV. 679.
[5] III. 126., XXII. 441. [6] IV. 141.

narrative, and are comparatively rare. In the Iliad, on the other hand, they are for the most part introduced in the form of similes, or other illustrative details, and are proportionally more numerous and specific.[1]

Philological data.

14. The objections to a common authorship derived from varieties of language in the two poems may be equally met by reference to the corresponding variety of their subject. New or different objects and ideas require new and different names to denote them, with new modes of thought and expression. In so far, however, as the question has been made to hinge on the relative proportion of archaic idioms in the two works, after all the elaborate efforts of the Separatist commentators in an opposite sense, it may confidently be asserted that the result of an impartial scrutiny leaves a decided balance of such phraseology on the side of the Odyssey.[2] This apparent anomaly may also be explained on a juster principle than by any appeal to the comparative antiquity of the text. In a language in course of formation under poetical auspices, as was that of Homer, the most approved and elegant modes of expression would, as a general rule, be selected for the higher tone of description or dialogue. The studied adoption of, or adherence to, antiquated idioms, as a means of ennobling poetical composition, is an affectation proper to the later stages of literature, to the taste of Apollonius or Lycophron, but foreign to that of the primitive Epic Muse.[3] But, in every state of society, antiquated idioms maintain their ground, apart from such artificial causes, chiefly in vulgar use. The

[1] See Appendix C.

[2] See Appendix D.

[3] See supra, B. I. Ch. vi. § 4., Vol. I. p. 112. sq.

more homely, therefore, the subject and treatment of any poetical work of primitive times, and the closer its connexion with ordinary life, the greater the number of such idioms it would be likely to comprise: and such, in fact, is the case with the Odyssey as compared with the Iliad. But, in addition to this greater predominance of old-fashioned phraseology, the number and variety of novel facts and ideas in the former poem also sufficed to insure a corresponding amount of novelty to its vocabulary. The language of the Odyssey, accordingly, while identical in its substantial features, is more or less distinguished from that of the Iliad in both these incidental peculiarities.

CHAP. XVII.

HOMER. INTERPOLATION OF THE TEXT.

1. TREATMENT OF THIS SUBJECT IN THE MODERN SCHOOLS.—2. ITS RESULTS. —3. ALEXANDRIAN GRAMMARIANS, AND THEIR METHOD. —4. IMPUTED INTERPOLATIONS OF THE ILIAD. DOLONEA. SHIELD OF ACHILLES. LAST BOOK. —5. IMPUTED INTERPOLATIONS OF THE ODYSSEY. SONG OF DEMODOCUS. —6. NECROMANCY. —7. ITS ANOMALIES. PARALLEL OF VIRGIL AND DANTE. —8. LATTER PART OF THE POEM.

Treatment of this subject in the modern schools.

1. FROM the tenor of the previous course of this analysis, it will not be expected that the more subtle details of speculative criticism, connected with the head of the subject on which we are about to enter, will here receive a degree of attention at all corresponding to the momentous importance attached to them in the popular schools of Homeric criticism.

That the Iliad and Odyssey, allowing to each poem an original integrity of composition, as a necessary basis of all such inquiries, must yet in the course of their passage to posterity have been subjected both to addition and corruption, is a doctrine which no intelligent critic of the present day will be disposed to question. The state of society which produced them, and which prevailed during the earlier vicissitudes of their history; their subsequent treatment by the native grammarians and editors; the voice of tradition; even the internal evidence of portions of each work; all vouch, in some measure, for the correctness of that doctrine. The same sound discretion, however, which constrains us to admit the doctrine in theory, will, in the absence of distinct historical data, render us cautious of giving it prac-

tical effect. The fallacious and arbitrary nature of the tests by reference to which judgement is here habitually passed in the modern schools, especially of that most popular criterion derived from anomalies in matter or style, has already been abundantly pointed out.[1] Such incongruities, it has been shown, must be inseparable from the productions of human art, as long as imperfection is inherent in human nature. They are, indeed, as a general rule, more largely exemplified in original works of the highest order than in those of a secondary class; uniformity being the attribute of mediocrity rather than of greatness. As this rule is in close harmony with the law of nature, it is also amply illustrated by the example, not only of Homer, but of all the other great masters whose genius, in point of native originality, most nearly resembles his own. If anomaly were in itself valid evidence of variety of workmanship, and were the rule to be consistently applied to Dante, Shakspeare, or Milton, what havoc would be the result! The modern critic peruses in one page of these comparatively polished and artistic poets a passage of surpassing brilliancy, and in the next a series of heavy commonplaces or trivial conceits, without a suspicion as to their emanating from the stores of the same mind. But no sooner does he discover, in the work of the "rude unlettered bard," the gentlest illustration of the old adage, that "Homer occasionally slumbers," than he resorts to the most improbable theories to explain what, far from requiring explanation, would involve a breach of the common law of nature, were it otherwise. The same experience, however, which proves that

[1] See Vol. I. p. 437. sqq.

every great original work, such as the Iliad or Odyssey, must present varieties of matter or treatment sufficient, by reference to those arbitrary criteria, to insure the condemnation even of genuine portions of its text, equally evinces that an imitator of taste and talent may, in partial instances, produce supplements so closely in harmony with the original as to escape suspicion altogether. In this way it might happen, and has undoubtedly often happened, that, by reference to such merely speculative data, genuine portions of an author are condemned, while corruptions or interpolations are approved, or pass unobserved.

The principle by which this analysis has throughout been guided is different. The fact, that Homer habitually treads a path beyond the range of ordinary poets, has been, and will be, held but the more surely to imply that he may at times sink even below their level. Accordingly, wherever the matter or the manner of his composition offered ground of censure, it has in the previous pages been fairly and freely bestowed. Attention has been directed, from time to time, to diffuseness in his descriptions, or flatness in his dialogues; to the undue accumulation of battle scenes or of figurative embellishment; to the offensive features in his portraits of divine character, and to other serious defects in the religious element of his works; to his occasional indulgence in trifling or unseasonable jests; and to numerous petty laxities and inconsistencies in his narrative. So far, however, are such improprieties from constituting any necessary evidence of spuriousness in the passages where they occur, that the characteristic similarity of the mode in which they are exemplified may often, with better

reason, be urged as proof of the unity, even in its anomalies, of the genius which has been guilty of them. Equally inconclusive, on grounds already also detailed, are the arguments derived from calculations made, and balance struck, of rare or idiomatic words, phrases, grammatical flexions, or metrical forms. Such criteria, at all times fallacious, are more especially so in the case of works composed in a semibarbarous age; at different periods, perhaps, of a long life; and in an unsettled and fluctuating language.

Its results.

2. In a former page it was remarked that the text of Homer, were effect to be given to the views of his various commentators, might be compared to the picture exposed in public by its author, with a request that each passing dilettante would draw a brush through the part he considered defective; the result of which operation was the effacement of every essential feature of the composition. Following up this illustration, it may here be proper to enumerate some of the more bulky passages of the poems which, in quarters where a certain basis of unity seems still to be acknowledged, are rejected as foreign excrescences or additions. The object will be sufficiently obtained by limiting the citations to the Iliad.

In the earlier portion of the poem, the latter half of the second book, containing the Catalogue of Forces, has been very generally rejected. In the *third book*, the interview of Priam and Helen on the *walls*[1], with that between Paris and Helen in her *chamber*[2]; and in the sixth, the episode[3] of Glaucus

[1] Heyne, Obss. ad. Il. vol. iv. p. 472. [2] Heyne, ibid. vol. iv. p. 530.
[3] K. O. Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. i. p. 53.; Heyne, Obss. vol. v. p. 203.

and Diomed, with the address of Andromache to Hector[1], have been condemned. Some would discard the entire "Prowess of Diomed,"[2] comprising the fifth, and greater part of the sixth book, or even the whole five books, from the third to the seventh, as one great interpolation, subjected in its individual capacity to several smaller ones.[3] The eighth[4] and ninth[5] books have each been visited with an obelus, while the tenth has been very generally stigmatised. One critic of high rank discards the five books, from the eighth to the twelfth[6], as one great interpolation; subjected, as usual, in its integral capacity, to others of pettier bulk. The episode of the Shield of Achilles[7], in the eighteenth book, has also been condemned. The last six books of the poem have, on the highest modern authority in these matters, been rejected in the mass, as a later supplement on the foregoing eighteen, of which the original Iliad is supposed to have consisted.[8] Others pronounce this too great a curtailment, and are satisfied with lopping off the last two books.[9] A third party, still more moderate, would be satisfied with the last alone[10]; and one of the advocates of this view afterwards restricts his verdict to the 128 last lines.[11] Others,

[1] Payne Knight ad l.

[2] Heyne, Obss. vol. v. p. 3.; conf. W. Müll. Hom. Vorsch. II. iii. init.

[3] Düntz. Homer u. d. Ep. Cycl. p. 61. [4] Heyne, vol. VI. p. 269.

[5] Düntz. op. cit. p. 65.; Heyne et W. Müll. ap. eund.; Grote, Hist. of Gr. vol. II. ch. xxi.

[6] Hermann de Interpol. Hom. opp. misc. vol. v. p. 63. sqq.

[7] Heyne, Obss. et Exc. ad Il. XVIII. 478.; Nitzsch, Artik. Odyssee in Hall. Encycl. p. 404.

[8] Wolf, Proleg. p. 137.; Briefe an Heyne, p. 9.

[9] Geppert ap. Düntz. Class. Mus. vol. IV. p. 36.; Grote, Hist. of Gr. vol. II. p. 265.

[10] Nitzsch, loc. sup. cit.; Düntz. op. cit. p. 69. et auctt. ibid.

[11] Düntz. Class. Mus. vol. IV. p. 37

while retaining these six books in their general extent, reject parts here and there; such as the Battle of the gods, the Funeral games, and the Lament over the body of Hector.[1]

It will be observed that several of the passages against which the greater number of voices are united, are precisely such as those accustomed to judge the poems by the old standards of taste have been used to consider the most excellent and characteristic specimens of their author's style. Such, for example, are, in the Iliad, the scene on the city walls, in the third book; the episode of Glaucus and Diomed, in the fifth; the embassy to Achilles, in the ninth; the "Shield of Achilles;" and the noble series of pathetic scenes in the last book. If to these be added the eighth and the latter part of the eleventh book of the Odyssey[2], with some other equally striking texts of inferior bulk in each poem, the result would be a virtual subtraction of the greater number of those passages which constitute the very essence and marrow of the poet's genius; the very idea, as it were, embodied in the term "Homer." To speak of the remainder of his text, thus emasculated, as the genuine substance of his poems, were somewhat as if a commentator on Shakspeare were to premise, as the basis of his labours, that Hamlet, Macbeth, Lear, Richard, and Othello found no place in his edition of the plays.

Apart, however, from such more licentious excursions into what are called, by our German neigh-

[1] Heyne, vol. VIII. p. 23. 44. 52. 189. 406.; P. Knight ad Il. XXI. 384., XXIV. 723.

[2] Nitzsch, Artik. Odyssee, p. 391.; conf. Erklär. Anm. ad locc.; K. O. Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 60.

bours, the "higher regions of criticism," it were yet unreasonable to deny that anomalies of matter or style, where of a very glaring description, and without any counteracting proofs of originality, may form an important ingredient of negative evidence in questions of this nature. But, without some solid basis of historical testimony, they can never amount to proof, still less supply foundation for any sweeping general theories. In order, therefore, to avoid all risk of being drawn into the popular vortex of chimerical speculations, the following remarks will be restricted to those passages of either poem where the stigma, as being sanctioned by respectable native critics, may claim to rest on classical, or even, in so far as grounded on more antient copies of the text, manuscript authority. The few exceptions to this rule will be limited to portions of the text more pointedly cited, in the course of this analysis, as illustrative of the higher attributes of the poet's genius.

Alexandrian grammarians and their method.

3. It is essential to the accurate treatment of this whole matter, that some previous clear estimate should be formed of the degree of deference due to the Alexandrian grammarians and their schools; and, more especially, how far their critical distinctions between the gold and the dross in the poems are to be held as representing merely their own conjectures, how far as embodying earlier authority or tradition. That their own editions of the poems were founded on a careful collation of earlier manuscripts procured from different parts of the Hellenic world is certain. The extent to which they profited by those aids also abundantly appears from the frequent notices, by the scholiasts who have preserved their views, of varieties of reading preferred by them on a balance

of such authorities. Of passages expunged by them on the ground of absence from those older MSS., the distinct notices are comparatively few; nor are their stigmata or "repudiations," so frequently mentioned, often described as based on any such data. These condemnatory verdicts evidently for the most part express but the commentator's own opinion as to defects or anomalies in matter or style, unworthy, in his judgement, of the poet's genius.[1] In the comparatively few instances where a passage is actually "ejected," the fact is distinctly so stated, in terms different from those merely expressive of condemnation. With regard, however, to the bulkier passages so "condemned" or "repudiated," there is no trace whatever of the censure having been grounded on manuscript authority, still less of its having been practically followed up to the extent of omission from the text, even by the more licentious editors. This forms obviously a strong argument of substantial harmony in the older standard editions of the poems, in regard to these bulkier passages, at the remotest period to which such manuscript evidence is traceable. And that argument is further borne out by the circumstance, that, where single verses or shorter

[1] Hence the frequent notices in the Scholia of passages merely "repudiated" or "condemned" by one commentator, but "ejected entirely" by another: ad Il. IX. 21. sqq., XI. 78. 179. 356., XII. 450. alibi passim; also of passages repudiated by Aristarchus, even on the authority of the old standard codd., and yet not ejected by him (see note 3. to p. 174. infra); and, further, of passages parts of which were repudiated parts ejected by the same commentator: Zenod. ap. Schol. Bek. ad Il. I. 491. (188.), II. 674. This distinction between the phrases ἀθετεῖν and οὐ γράφειν or their respective cognates, while quite indispensable to a right apprehension either of the method of the Alexandrian critics, or the value of their authority, has been often overlooked or confounded by the best modern commentators.

passages of either work are expunged by the same Alexandrians, it is stated in various instances that they were so treated on the ground of their finding no place in one or other of those earlier more accredited manuscripts.

The analysis of this shorter class of doubtful texts[2] supplies some interesting illustrations of the critical method of the Alexandrian masters, and the vicissitudes of the poems in their hands. Zenodotus, the founder of the school, appears by far the most licentious in his treatment of his author. The notices of passages not only censured but discarded[3] by him are greatly more copious than in the case of any of his successors. Certain of those passages are said, it is true, to have been wanting in some one or more of the older codices[4]: but the greater part were evidently disposed of without any pretext of manuscript authority, merely from not happening to square with his own particular theories. Nor did he scruple at times to indulge in the still less justifiable license of engrafting new matter of his own on the genuine text.[5] Similar irregularities are chargeable, though not to an equal extent, on his pupil and successor Aristophanes[6], a scholar in other

[1] Schol. Ven. et Bekk. ad Il. xvii. 133. sqq., conf. xix. 77. 387.; Schol. Buttm. ad Od. iv. 511., v. 337.

[2] See Appendix E.

[3] Il. i. 491. (488.), ii. 674., iv. 89., vii. 255, 256., viii. 371, 372. 385—388., 528. 535—537., ix. 21—26. 416. 694., x. 240. 497. 534., xi. 13, 14. 78—83. 179, 180. 356. 515. 705., xii. 450., xv. 33. (18—33. Schol. Bekk. A. B.) 64—77., xvi. 89, 90. 237., xvii. 133—135., xix. 387—390., xxi. 195., xxiv. 269.; Schol. Buttm. ad Od. iv. 498., viii. 142. (?), xi. 245.

[4] Il. xvii. 133.

[5] Il. i. 404., ii. 55, 56., iii. 334, 335., v. 807, 808., xiii. 731. 808., xvi. 89. 666.

[6] Il. x. 497., xiv. 114., xv. 33., xviii. 10—11.

respects of superior judgement. Traces also remain of a partial indulgence in such license by Aristarchus, the most distinguished master of the Alexandrian school. The allusions, however, to any serious tampering with the text on his part, are so rare or so vague, when compared with the notices which tend to prove his discretion and caution, as scarcely to warrant any charge against him of wilful or unauthorised alteration of the genuine reading. It is certain, that passages condemned by him on internal grounds were yet often retained by him in the text, in cases where his own critical judgement was backed by the absence of those passages from one or more of the accredited antient codices.[1] They were doubtless so retained because the balance of historical or documentary authority in their favour still appeared to him sufficient to outweigh his own speculative opinion, even when partially supported by such authority. It becomes, therefore, the less probable, that, in the few cases where the notices of ejection[2], insertion[3], or alteration[4] by him do not happen to be accompanied by any allusion to documentary evidence, his treatment of such passages should have been altogether arbitrary. Of Crates, the rival of Aristarchus, many varieties of reading have been recorded[5], but without specific notice whether they

[1] Ad Il. xviii. 39—49.; Od. iv. 511., v. 337., vi. 244.; where the verse is vindicated by him on the ground of its having been paraphrased by the very antient poet Alcman, and consequently extant in that remote age; conf. ad Il. v. 807, 808.; Od. i. 171. 356. 424., iv. 285., xviii. 10. sq.

[2] Il. v. 808., xxi. 73.

[3] Schol. ad Il. xix. 77.; Od. iv. 15—19., ap. Athen. Deip. v. p. 180. sq. conf. Schol. ad Od. x. 242.

[4] Od. iv. 231.

[5] See B. Thiersch, Zeitalter Homers, p. 29.

rested on antient authority or were the fruit of his own conjecture. No allusion occurs to his rejection of genuine or insertion of spurious verses.[1] These varieties in the views or practice of the antient critics may also partially be traced in corresponding variations of the extant manuscripts. In frequent instances short texts, seldom exceeding four or five lines, contained in one of those manuscripts, are omitted in others. Similar, no doubt, is the case with many of the texts incidentally cited from Homer by antient authors, but no longer extant in his works. Of such apocryphal passages quoted by writers prior to the Alexandrian æra, some may have been omitted in the course of the more accurate Alexandrian redaction. Others may have been retained only in certain editions, the various readings of which have not been preserved. Some, it is certain, belonged neither to the Iliad nor Odyssey, but to the Cyclic poems or other secondary productions of the poet's school.[2]

The foregoing remarks, however, on the more licentious exercise of their editorial functions by the Alexandrian scholars, apply, as already observed, solely to the shorter passages which, in either poem, supply material for their commentaries. Their verdict, where unfavourable to the bulkier portions of the text similarly called in question by them, appears in no instance to have been grounded on any sort of "diplomatic" evidence, still less to have been enforced to

[1] It has not been thought necessary to extend this concise analysis of the "diplomatic" criticism of the Alexandrian school to the labours of Rhianus or other less celebrated editors of the poet's text.

[2] See Düntz. Frag. der Ep. Poes. I. p. 27. sq. Something may also be attributed to carelessness in citation; conf. Plat. Rep. 405 E. with Ion p. 538 C. Of Aristotle, see supra, Vol. I. note to p. 465.; conf. Rhet. I. xi. alibi.

the extent of exclusion from their editions. It represents consequently nothing more than their own speculative opinion; and to this extent alone can the modern critic be required to defer to it. While paying all due respect to strictly documentary evidence, where it can be had, he will, in questions of a purely conjectural nature, claim as full a freedom of judgement in regard to the notoriously unsparing obeli of Zenodotus or Aristarchus, as of Wolf or Heyne.

Imputed interpolations of the Iliad. Dolonea.

4. The only integral portion of the Iliad relative to which there is trace of scepticism among the antient critics is the tenth book, or "Dolonea."[1] The extant notices on the subject, being limited to a comment by Eustathius and one other anonymous scholiast, deserve but little attention. There are certainly few portions of either poem better entitled, either in point of matter or style, to the honour of emanating from the genuine Homer.[2] Nor, indeed, are its claims to that honour disputed even in the notices above cited. It is there acknowledged as an original composition of Homer, but conjectured to have been an after-thought, or supplement, first permanently admitted as an integral part of the Iliad at a later period. This is indeed a hypothesis which, under reasonable restrictions, might be extended to various other portions of either poem; as quite in conformity with the mode in which any great epic work of a primitive age, amid the imperfection of mechanical aids, might naturally, even in the hands of a single author, acquire its harmony of parts or consistency of whole.

[1] Eustath. and Schol. Bekk. ad Il. x. init.

[2] Conf. supra, Vol. I. p. 264. sqq. 301.

Shield of Achilles.

What has here been said applies with equal or still greater force to the description of the Shield of Achilles, where a similar want of absolute necessary connexion between the previous and subsequent text, from 482. to 609., has supplied a handle to sceptical doubts, exclusively however on the part of modern critics. The arguments in favour of the genuine Homeric origin of this episode, supplied by the distinctive Homeric style of its composition, have been elsewhere considered. They are, it may be added, singularly corroborated by the miserable inferiority of the earliest and most celebrated attempt to emulate its excellence, the Hesiodic "Shield of Hercules." But even the position of the episode, and its connexion with the main text, the very points which have been most objected to, imply, in so far as the fundamental laws of correct composition can form a rule of judgement[1], that some description of similar bulk and tendency must here have found place. It is hardly credible that any poet of ordinary taste or discretion would have been at pains to accumulate so formidable a mass of prologue to so meagre a sequel of principal matter as would remain, were the descriptive part of the episode rejected. The long preliminary notice of the visit of Thetis to Olympus, and her interview with Vulcan; the detailed account of the workshop, machinery, person, and equipment of the god; of his studied preparation for some great and elaborate work, and of the number and variety of the precious materials he employs; could never have been meant to end in nothing but a simple statement, in ten lines, of the fact of his having made a shield, helmet, and coat of mail for the hero. Let any impartial

[1] See supra, Ch. vii. §§ 12, 13.

reader try the experiment. Let him discard the 125 lines from 483. to 608., and read the text thus curtailed from 369. to the end of the book, in continuous order. He will at once be sensible of something wretchedly jejune and issueless in the whole description. The last ten lines will infallibly strike him as a most impotent conclusion to so tantalising an exordium. The argument may here safely be reversed. Had no specific account been given of the actual produce of so much divine labour and ingenuity, expended on such a profusion of metallic treasures, there might indeed have been plausible ground to surmise some grievous hiatus in the original text.[1]

Last book.

The last book of the Iliad has also been rejected in the modern schools alone, and exclusively on speculative grounds. Little need here be added to what has elsewhere been incidentally urged upon this point. The poetical necessity of the transactions narrated in the concluding canto, as a winding up of the great drama of the Iliad, appears so absolute and so obvious[2], that, whatever may be the case with that section of the modern school who consider the whole poem as a patchwork, it is difficult to understand how those who admit its substantial unity of plan can yet deliberately cast away this apex or head corner-stone of its perfection. To have parted with Achilles, immersed in the vortex of vindictive passions in which he is left at the close of the previous narrative, were a complete sacrifice of the crowning excellence of his character, his generosity. It would have equally destroyed, by consequence, that moral unity between the portrait

[1] Conf. supra, Vol. I. p. 303.

[2] Supra, Vol. I. p. 290. sq. 345. sqq.

of the hero, and the conduct of the action, which now constitutes the noblest attribute of the poem. The very notion, indeed, of any poet finishing off a grand heroic epopee by leaving one of his two best and bravest warriors a mangled corpse in the hostile camp, and the other engaged in the daily work of its mutilation, is something almost too monstrous to contemplate![1]

Imputed interpolation of the Odyssey. Song of Demodocus.

5. The first integral part of the Odyssey against which any serious charge has been brought is the song of the Phæacian bard Demodocus, in the eighth book. The objections, on the part of the antients, here consist but in an obscure hint from the scholiast of Aristophanes.[2] To modern critics few passages have afforded a more frequent, and perhaps a more plausible, theme of sceptical commentary.[3] The chief arguments urged against it are: I. the impropriety of introducing a musician reciting a poem as the accompaniment of a dance; unless the dance itself were a pantomimic representation of the subject of the poem. II. The variation from the genuine mythology of Homer, Vulcan's wife being here Venus, while in the Iliad she is one of the Graces. III. The occurrence of

[1] To the objection on which the greatest weight has been laid, the employment of Mercury, not Iris, as messenger of Jove, it may readily be answered that Mercury is not employed as messenger, but as agent or commissioner, to protect Priam; just as in other parts of the poem Apollo appears in a similar capacity in favour of Hector, Minerva of Diomed, or Neptune of Æneas. The proper functions of messenger are in this book, as elsewhere in the Iliad, assigned to Iris; those of guide or escort, on a journey or embassy, are very properly allotted to Hermes.

[2] Ad Pac. 778.

[3] Nitzsch (Erkl. Anm. vol. II. p. xlvii. sqq. 207. sqq.) assumes the whole eighth book to be an interpolation on the Odyssey, and the song of Demodocus an interpolation on the previous interpolation!

words and phrases not observable elsewhere in either poem. It seems strange that the first objection, or rather the distinction on which it is based, should have occurred to any critic familiar with the state of the musical and poetical arts as represented in the poet's works. The song, in every primitive age, is an accompaniment of the dance; and where there was a song there were also words.[1] That such was the case in Homer's time is proved by numerous passages, where the only difference is that the words of the song do not happen, as in the present instance, to be given. Wherever a bard is represented engaged in his vocation, whether for the purpose of enlivening a banquet, or of leading a chorus, he sings to his harp; and rarely is there wanting some more or less specific notice of the subject of his lay.[2] So far, therefore, is the song itself, in the case of Demodocus, from being out of place, that its omission would have been repugnant to national usage. As to its style, there are few portions certainly of either poem which, in this department of composition, are more worthy of the varied powers of Homer's art, or more completely in the spirit of the Odyssey, and the lively fantastic audience. The objection above stated to the omission of "the Shield" in the Iliad, here also applies. That the poet, in his anxiety to give effect to this orchestic exhibition, after expressly sending for Demodocus to take his share in the performance, and dwelling so minutely on the other details of the ceremony, should omit all further notice of the

[1] So inveterate was this combination, as to have suggested a proper term, *μολπή*, to express it.

[2] Il. XVIII. 604., Od. IV. 17. alibi. Still more expressly is the connexion between dancing and vocal music established in Hymn. Apoll. 189, 190.; conf. 196. 515. sqq.; conf. Welck. Ep. C. p. 352. sqq.

minstrel's mode of acquitting himself, were no way consistent with his usual practice.

The argument based on conflicting mythology, even if in itself well founded, would admit of one very obvious answer, that it is not Homer, but the Phæacian court poet, who indites the song. Attention has elsewhere been directed to the popular error of holding Homer personally responsible for whatever he puts into the mouth of his speakers. It were very unreasonable to make him individually answerable for the accuracy of all the details even of national legend, human or divine, which may, from time to time, have been promulgated by the different organs of that legend in the course of the action. With still less justice can he be called to account for variations from the pure Hellenic mythology, placed in the mouth of a minstrel belonging to a race inhabiting a different world, and remarkable for their fantastical gasconading disposition. But, in fact, the two passages of the Iliad and Odyssey, whether representing the mythological tenets of the same or of different "authors," will be found, if impartially judged, to be in close harmony with each other. In this episode Venus appears, no doubt, as the wife of Vulcan. But the whole point of the story is her infidelity to her nuptial vows. The injured husband expressly declares his intention of divorcing her; or, as it is worded, "sending her back to her father, Jupiter; and receiving in return the purchase money originally paid for her." He even refuses to release her from her durance, until Neptune becomes surety to him for Jove's fulfilment of his share in this agreement. The mythological fact, therefore, conveyed in this ballad is, that Vulcan of old divorced his wife

Venus, on account of her adultery with Mars. Where, then, is the anomaly in the same poet's introducing the same Vulcan, at a later period, as husband of another wife; while Venus, his faithless consort, continues to cohabit with Mars, as she does throughout the Iliad? It matters not here what may have been the version of Vulcan's matrimonial history, received in the later mythology, on which the Separatist argument rests. It is with Homer alone that we have to do; and the Homer of the Iliad is in complete harmony with the Homer of the Odyssey. The anomaly is on the part of the later fable, which assumed Vulcan to have continued the husband of Venus after divorcing her for adultery.[1]

Necromancy.

6. A still more fatal importance would attach to the charge of interpolation, if established against another integral portion of the Odyssey, the latter part of the Necromancy, or Descent to Hades. The imputation here acquires weight from the sanction of Aristarchus.[2] His arguments, however, as stated by his quoters, are so trivial or farfetched, as to be altogether insignificant when weighed in the balance against the opposite verdict of other distinguished critics, antient and modern, by whom the passage

[1] Among the imputed sins against the pure Homeric dialect in this passage, the chief are, the occurrence of ἠλιος as a dactyl, instead of a first pæan, ἡέλιος; and of several words not elsewhere introduced in either poem. Whether this amount of dialectical evidence be sufficient to condemn the episode, will depend upon the estimate different commentators may form of the intrinsic value of such arguments. The peculiar character of the subject might seem to warrant the introduction of a few familiar idioms, such as, in fact, these appear to be, but which might not happen to suggest themselves in other portions of his text. Ἥλιος as a dactyl, it may be remarked, is but one among a class of Synizeses authorised by Homer, though not elsewhere exemplified in this particular word. Conf. Il. I. 277., XXIII. 724.

[2] Schol. Pind. Ol. I. 96., et Schol. Buttm. ad Od. XI. 568. sqq.

has been justly cited as one essentially linked with the individuality as well as excellence of the poet's genius.[1] A reference, indeed, to the striking parallels traced in the foregoing pages, between various parts of the supposed interpolation[2] and other equally characteristic texts of the two poems, might seem, in itself, to establish a claim to genuine origin.

The objections of Aristarchus and his modern supporters turn chiefly on the defective nature of the mechanical cohesion between these sixty verses and the framework in which they are encased. His argument is, in fact, the same hackneyed charge of self-contradiction already examined in a former chapter. It will be necessary, in order rightly to estimate the value of that argument in its application to the present case, to have clearly before us the more important previous question, as to the epic spirit and connexion of the general context in its existing form, as compared with that which it would assume were the passage in question to be removed.

The poet's object in carrying his hero down to Hades may be considered in a twofold point of view, historical and poetical. The historical scope of the episode was to enable Ulysses to obtain information from Tiresias as to his own future lot. The poetical scope was to enliven the poem by the visions of wonder and terror which the infernal regions presented. The last motive may certainly be assumed as the more weighty of the two. The prophecies of

[1] Dion. Hal. de Struct. Orat. § xx.; Aristot. Rhet. III. xi.; Demetr. de Eloc. lxxii.; Lucian De conscrib. hist. c. lvii.; conf. Plato, Gorg. 525 D. 526 D.; Protag. 315 B. C.; Eustath. ad Od. XI. 592. sqq.; alios ap. Nitzsch, op. cit. vol. III. p. 309.

[2] See especially 594. sqq. cited in p. 108.; and compare also, with 598., Il. IV. 521.

Tiresias have really no vital bearing on the action of the poem. They could, in themselves, therefore offer no sufficient inducement to such an enterprise. If, on the other hand, the disputed portion of the episode were to be struck out, its poetical value would be lamentably affected. Not merely are the visions there described the only objects of essentially Tartarean wonder or terror which the narrative comprises, but have always been considered the most awful and striking in the realms of Pluto. To have omitted their description would, therefore, have been a sacrifice of nearly the whole pith and marrow of any such adventure.

Another little less glaring anomaly which this omission would involve would be, that the only inhabitants of the other world considered worthy of attention by the poet, solely on account of their celebrity on earth, would be women. If we except the heroes and heroine more immediately connected by blood or friendship with Ulysses, his mother Anticlea, and his fellow-warriors, Agamemnon, Achilles, Ajax, and Elpenor, his whole time would have been occupied in passing in review the ghosts of some thirteen females, in none of whom he had any immediate personal interest. While common probability seems thus to demand the introduction of a proportional number of the older male inhabitants of Erebus, the same inference results from the epic connexion of the narrative. Ulysses, on concluding what may be called the actual business of his expedition, his conference with Tiresias, first invokes and converses with his mother Anticlea. As the ghost nearest and dearest to him is a female, her appearance naturally suggests a preference of the same sex, in

passing on to the Manes of those less nearly connected with him. In regard to the male spirits, a similar order is observed. He first sees and converses with the souls of his own friends and contemporaries, and then follow, in corresponding order, the other male worthies of more antient celebrity.

Imputed discordances of its narrative.

7. Let us now consider how far these higher poetical or historical criteria are counterbalanced by the Aristarchean objections founded on the mere mechanical cohesion of the passage. "Ulysses," it has been urged, "is described, at the commencement of the adventure, as not himself entering the habitation of departed souls, but, remaining on the 'outskirts of Erebus,' he conjures them 'out of the House of Hades.' Accordingly, the spirits, in the early portion of the hero's visit, are described as coming forth in succession to taste the blood and converse with him, and then as retiring, in the same order, 'into the House of Hades.' In the sequel, however, immediately after his interview with Ajax (568., where the supposed interpolation commences), he is suddenly found, without any notice of his having advanced or changed his ground, himself exploring the recesses of the Mansion of Pluto; or," it has been ironically asked by Aristarchus[1] and his followers[2], "are we to suppose that Minos with his tribunal, Tityus with his nine roods of land, Tantalus with his lake, and Sisyphus with his mountain, were all conjured up like the rest for the hero's inspection?"

How little intrinsic value can attach to such reasoning has already been shown in a previous chapter[3],

[1] His own words ap. Scholl. Buttmann ad 570. 577. 593.

[2] B. Thiersch, Urgest. der Odyss. p. 69. sqq.; Nitzsch, Erkl. Anm. vol. III. p. 307. sqq.; K. O. Müller, Hist. Gr. Lit. vol. I. p. 60.

[3] xi. Vol. I. p. 437. sqq.

where it has been proved by numerous examples, that such occasional vagueness or incongruity in the order of the poet's narrative is so familiar a characteristic of his style, as to constitute quite as good an argument of the genuine character of the passage, as the methodical precision which it is here proposed to exact. The question of Aristarchus might, therefore, be satisfactorily answered by asking in return: Are we to suppose that Polyphemus heard the speech of Ulysses uttered at twice the distance to which the sound of a human voice could penetrate? or that the sun set twice in the same evening in Scheria, or rose twice in the same morning in Ithaca? Many similar equally hypercritical questions might be accumulated. But a more accurate consideration of the passage in its relation to the previous context will show that the mechanical incoherence here imputed, if such it be, affects far too extensive a range of the poem to admit, even conceding the validity of such arguments, of their being so exclusively concentrated against these forty verses.

Circe, in her instructions delivered to Ulysses in the previous book, orders him to leave his vessel on the shore of ocean, and advance, alone, "into the House of Hades[1]," there to perform the requisite enchantments, turning "towards Erebus;" and the ghosts, she adds, will come forth at his command. In the sequel, accordingly, he is described as disembarking, and repairing to the "place appointed by Circe"[2] (viz. within the House of Hades), where he conjures up the souls "out of Erebus."[3] First, Elpenor appears and supplicates the hero, on returning "out of the House of Hades"[4] (Ulysses, therefore, was now himself

[1] x. 512. 564. [2] xi. 22. [3] 37. [4] 69.; conf. 164.

within it) to the upper world, to perform the just obsequies to his corpse. Tiresias then comes forth, and, at the conclusion of his interview, returns "within the House of Hades"[1] (Ulysses, therefore, must be here without it). Afterwards appear in succession the hero's mother, the other thirteen females, and his own comrades of Troy; the last of whom, Ajax, retreats "into Erebus." Thither Ulysses declares he would have followed him, but for his anxiety to see the ghosts of other heroes. In the sequel, accordingly, he passes in review the further series of male spirits, ending with Hercules, who is also described as retiring, after his dialogue, "within the House of Hades."

It is plain, then, from the foregoing summary, that, by reference to the rigid Aristarchean test of uniformity, whatever self-contradiction exists in this series of passages affects equally the whole text from v. 512. of the tenth book to the conclusion of the eleventh. But there is really no incongruity whatever. The term House or Abode (δόμος, οἶκος) is here obviously used, according to the familiar idiom of the Greek as of most other languages, both in a general and a specific sense.[2] In the former sense, it denotes the whole infernal abode or dwellingplace of the Tartarean deities, and of departed mortals, comprising, together with the "place appointed by Circe," the Asphodel Meadow, Erebus, the Tribunal of Minos, and the scene of punishment of Tityus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus. The hero, therefore, after having disembarrassed himself of the crowd of ghosts who surrounded

[1] 150.

[2] In the same way (Od. i. 356., xxi. 350. alibi) Telemachus is himself in the house, when he tells his mother to retire into it.

him on his first arrival, was free to inspect such objects of wonder or terror, distant or near, as were accessible to his view. That Homer has not described the particular place or manner of this inspection can form no difficulty with those who understand and appreciate the free genius of his style of narrative, abounding, as it does, in examples of similar licence. The occasional use of the term δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω, in a more limited sense, alludes plainly, either to the actual interior of the palace of Pluto, or to the inner and more distant recesses of Erebus, into which the souls retire, but whither Ulysses is not permitted to follow them.

Parallel of Virgil and Dante.

A curious and interesting illustration of what has been said, here and elsewhere, regarding Anomaly as a characteristic of the higher epic genius, is supplied by the fact, that each of the two next greatest poets, who have in different ages treated this subject, have been guilty of a real inconsistency very similar to that here imputed to Homer. With Virgil, Æneas descends into Hades through a dark cavern, which, without obstacle, conducts him at once "into the mansion of Pluto."[1] In the sequel, however, he is described as not yet arrived at the outer vestibule of the same infernal abode: 273. sqq.

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci,

where he is obliged to make good a passage through a legion of monsters. Now, at least, we are led to assume that he is safely housed in the palace; yet, after a hundred and fifty lines descriptive of its inhabitants, we find that he is not yet across the threshold; nor can his entrance be effected (424.) until the porter, Cer-

[1] Domos Ditis. Æn. vi. 269.

berus, is bribed over to his interest. A similar, though not quite so serious, confusion is observable in Dante's topography of the "Inferno."[1] Here, again, the rule should either be made general, or the primitive bard should enjoy the same privilege of exemption as his more civilised successors.

Latter part of the Odyssey.

8. The last and largest portion of the Odyssey, the genuine character of which has been questioned by the antients, and where, perhaps, a rational scepticism finds the most legitimate exercise, comprises the whole concluding book of the poem, with a considerable portion of that which precedes. Aristarchus and Aristophanes pronounced the 296th verse of the XXIIIrd book, where Ulysses and Penelope, after their recognition, retire for the night, to be the end of the Odyssey. This verdict, however, must be understood, as in other similar cases, to intimate merely what, in the judgement of the critics, would have been the most appropriate termination of the action; not what either tradition, manuscript, or even perhaps internal evidence, authorised them to assume was the form in which the poem was originally composed.[2]

It cannot, indeed, be denied that the latter portion of the Odyssey, from the destruction of the suitors downwards, not only contains a larger portion of jejune and tedious matter than perhaps the whole remaining text of either poem, but is absolutely deficient in the

[1] Conf. Cant. iii. 1. sqq. with Cant. viii. 68. sqq.

[2] This seems further evident from the circumstance that all the specific arguments of Aristarchus in favour of the proposed curtailment, as cited in detail by the Scholiasts, affect exclusively the Psychopompia, or first 204 lines of B. XXIV. He is also, in the same citation (Schol. ad ver. 1.), pointedly described as having condemned this particular passage in its individual capacity, as an interpolation; which would imply that he considered the remainder of the text with which it is connected to be objectionable on poetical grounds alone.

essential requisites of an appropriate consummation. Had the narrative been wound up by a simple recognition between the hero, his wife, and father, respectively, on the understanding that the destruction of his domestic enemies was a complete settlement of his affairs, the Odyssey would unquestionably, on mere grounds of speculative criticism, have been a more perfect work. The long episode of the suitors' descent to Hades, with its diffuse and pointless dialogues, and the campaign between Ulysses and his contumacious vassals, are not only tedious and uninteresting in themselves, but a sore weight on the proverbial eagerness with which the mind, in the perusal of an eventful narrative, hastens, after the main catastrophe is over, to the conclusion.

Admitting, however, that the action as it now stands has been unduly spun out, it is yet difficult to see how, consistently with either historical or poetical propriety, it could have been broken off in the manner proposed by the Alexandrian critics.[1] Throughout the previous series of occurrences, it is plainly implied that the destruction of the suitors insured no immediate peaceful settlement of the hero's affairs, but that other momentous difficulties remained to be

[1] Even allowing a general plausibility to their more sweeping scheme of curtailment, it would yet be difficult to agree to its precise limits, excluding, as it would, one of the most characteristic and truly Homeric passages in either poem, and quoted as such by Aristotle, the hero's recapitulation of his adventures to Penelope on retiring to rest. This passage, indeed, far from detrimental, would be highly conducive to the propriety of the suggested conclusion. The conciseness and rapidity of the hero's narrative, tempered by the easy harmonious flow of the versification, with the gradual and gentle interruption at the close by supervening slumber, seem to dramatise, as it were, that lulling effect which the poet evidently meant to produce on the senses of the speaker, the listener, and the reader. Aristot. Rhet. III. 16. Conf. Plutarch, Vit. Hom. II. 74.

encountered, from the resentment of their friends and dependants. The reconciliation of the royal family with their discontented vassals was indispensable to the proper winding up of the action. Had Homer meant to conclude his narrative with v. 296. of B. XXIII., he could hardly have composed vv. 117. sqq. 137. sqq. of the same book. The recognition between Ulysses and his father Laertes is also both poetically and historically indispensable. The poet could never have broken off without relieving the old king from his life of squalid misery at his hut in the country, and admitting him to a share of the joy and prosperity to which his family and dominions had been restored. The only portion of this concluding stage of the narrative presenting no such necessary bond of union with its previous details is the Psychopompia (XXIV. 1—204.), an episode which is also, in itself, the most defective passage of the whole poem. Its amputation, therefore, which some have proposed as a middle course, need cause little concern, either to the admirers of the poet's genius, or the defenders of the unity of the poems. As to the remainder of the disputed text, the safest inference that can be drawn from existing criteria is, that the good Homer, according to the proverb, has slumbered towards the close of his great and laborious task.

CHAP. XVIII.

HOMER. HIS BIRTHPLACE AND TIMES. INFLUENCE ON POSTERITY.

1. POPULAR TRADITION AND INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE POEMS. — 2. LEGEND OF HOMER. — 3. FAVOURS HIS ÆOLIAN ORIGIN. RIVAL CLAIMS OF IONIA. — 4. DIALECT OF THE POEMS. — 5. THEORY OF CRATES. — 6. INTERNAL EVIDENCE, AS BEARING ON THE IONIAN TRADITION. — 7. CONNEXION BETWEEN ÆOLIAN MIGRATION AND TROJAN WAR. — 8. ÆOLIAN PREDILECTIONS OF HOMER. — 9. HIS AGE TESTED BY HIS DESCRIPTIONS OF MANNERS. — 10. HOW FAR DO THOSE DESCRIPTIONS REPRESENT HIS OWN STATE OF SOCIETY. — 11. RESULT FAVOURABLE TO HIS ÆOLIAN ORIGIN. PROMULGATION AND PRESERVATION OF HIS POEMS IN IONIA. — 12. HIS PERSONAL CHARACTER AND FORTUNES, AS ILLUSTRATED BY HIS WORKS. — 13. GENERAL ESTIMATE OF HIS GENIUS. — 14. ON A DISTINCTIVE PECULIARITY OF HIS SCHOOL OF EPIC COMPOSITION. — 15. ORIGIN OF THE MODERN ROMANTIC OR SENTIMENTAL SCHOOL. — 16. RESPECTIVE MERITS OF THE TWO. — 17. INFLUENCE OF HOMER ON POSTERITY.

Popular tradition and internal evidence of the poems.

1. On first entering upon the subject of the Homeric poems it was remarked, that, while by the prevailing usage of literary history the biographical notice of a writer ought to precede the critical estimate of his works, an opposite course was required in the case of Homer, where the analysis of the poems affords the only sound criteria for judging of the age, birthplace, or destinies of the author. The result of that analysis has been, it is hoped, to place in a preferable light the antient opinion, that the Iliad and Odyssey are, each in its substantial integrity, the production of the same poet; or, if an absolute sameness of person be disputed, of poets so identical in genius and character as to warrant the adoption, as the basis of the present inquiry, of a single epoch, a single birthplace, and a single Homer.

To the further inquiry who that Homer was, what

that epoch or birthplace, the same general answer still presents itself, that it is to his works alone that we have to look for any authentic data on the subject: and this maxim is usually followed up by another, to the very discouraging effect, that, throughout both poems, Homer, with characteristic modesty, has abstained from all notice whatever of himself or his concerns. Both these rules, however, though in a general sense perhaps correct, may admit of exception, or rather of modification. With regard to the second of the two, it must be remembered, that a want of accurate knowledge, from external sources, of the particulars of Homer's history, precludes in a great degree the means of judging what amount of allusion to his own affairs his works may contain. Even the most egotistical epic poets rarely favour their readers, in their verse, with any plain statements on the subject of their nativity or fortunes. Such notices are usually introduced indirectly, or through the figurative medium of the events and persons described. They require, by consequence, as a key to their right understanding, some previous knowledge of the facts from other sources. Were there, for example, any solid ground of belief that Homer, as tradition describes him, was blind, it might fairly be conjectured that he has figured his own lot in that of the blind Phæacian bard Demodocus, so prominently put forward in the Odyssey. Or, to take a broader case of illustration, were the theory admitted which has found favour in fanciful quarters, that Ulysses himself was Homer[1]; far from being silent on his own affairs, he would, of all poets, be most open to the charge of garrulity. There may then, even upon a rational

[1] Const. Koliades, Ulysse, Homère; conf. Welck. Ep. C. p. 190. note.

view of the question, be much of his personal history interwoven with his fable; and the ignorance in which posterity remains may be owing, not so much to his own modesty, as to our inability to detect his vanity. In the absence, however, of such external data for our guidance, any conjectural knowledge to be extracted from his text will be more likely to bear on the country or times in which he composed, than on his own person or destinies.

The other axiom, that it is exclusively from internal sources that any satisfactory light on his history can be expected, must also be taken with some limitation. It proceeds upon the supposition that the popular accounts of his life are fabulous. Admitting this, however, it does not follow that they should be totally false, nor, consequently, that some approximation to fact may not be attainable through their medium. There are two modes in which such narratives may be turned to historical account. First: they may contain some element of positive truth as a nucleus for the mythical appendages. Secondly: they may convey, apart from any such more solid basis of reality, the substance of the opinions which their promulgators had been led to form, by a joint estimate of the internal evidence of the poems, and of the current tradition of a period nearer the age which produced them. It is chiefly or solely in the latter respect that aid is to be hoped from Homer's legendary biographers.

Should these two branches of evidence, internal and traditional, be found in general harmony with each other, they will supply as near an approach to a historical result as can be expected in a case of the kind. The simplest mode of conducting the inquiry

will be, first, to have clearly before us the substance of the popular accounts; secondly, to test their value by the text of the poems. As the several versions of the Legend of Homer, however differing in their details, are essentially agreed on certain more fundamental points, it becomes the less material which variety be selected as the standard text or vulgate. A preference will here be given to the biography which passes current under the name of Herodotus, as embodying to all appearance the oldest as well as the most comprehensive stock of materials.[1]

Legend of Homer.

2. Among the adventurers who took part in the settlement of Cuma in Æolia, about 150 years after the fall of Troy, was Melanopus of Magnesia in Thessaly, son of Ithagenes, son of Crithon. This Melanopus, dying in narrow circumstances, left an only daughter, Critheïs, to the care of a friend and fellow-colonist, Cleanax, by birth an Argive. The damsel, on approaching woman's estate, was found to be with child. Cleanax, vexed and ashamed at the condition of his ward, determined to remove her from home. For this purpose, he committed her to the charge of a friend, Ismenias of Bœotia, then about to join in the foundation of Smyrna, with a body of Cumæans led by a Thessalian chief. Soon after her settlement in her new residence, Critheïs, while taking part in a festival on the banks of the river Meles, in the neighbourhood of the city, was seized with her pains, and gave

[1] See also the Life by Proclus (ap. Gaisf. Heph. p. 465.), with two Lives ascribed to Plutarch and printed with his miscellaneous works. The second of these, also published by Gale (Opusc. Myth.), contains some valuable commentaries on the poet's style. Three shorter lives, one of which is a different version of that by Proclus, are prefixed to the Tract of Leo Allatius de Patr. Hom. Another is comprised in the Agon, or "Contest," of Homer and Hesiod, usually appended to the editions of the latter poet. A short but valuable sketch is given in the Catalog. MSS. Græc. Bibl. Matrit. t. I. p. 233.; and similar compendia are preserved by Suidas and other compilers of the same class. These documents, however late their own composition, derive value from their copious citations of early writers of eminence, from Pindar and Hellanicus downwards.

birth to a son. The boy, from his place of nativity, received the name of Melesigenes, afterwards exchanged for that of Homer. Critheïs soon after quitted the house of Ismenias, and, desirous of supporting herself by her own industry, entered the service of Phemius, a teacher of music and letters. So exemplary was her conduct in this new position as to induce her master to place her at the head of his household; and Melesigenes, displaying, as he advanced in years, a superior genius, with many amiable qualities, was adopted by him as his son, and provided with a liberal education. About the period of his reaching manhood, the young poet lost his mother; and shortly after Phemius also died, bequeathing his property and school[1] to Melesigenes.

Such was the reputation of his genius even at this early age, that he was already an object of curiosity to foreigners visiting the port. Among these was a merchant named Mentes, of Leucadia in the Ionian Gulf, who persuaded the youth to accompany him on a voyage in the Western Mediterranean. After trafficking on the coasts of Tyrrhenia and Iberia, during which time the poet took careful note of every new and curious object, they arrived in Ithaca. Here Melesigenes was attacked by opthalmia.[2] Mentes, under the necessity of continuing his course to Leucadia, consigned him to the care of a benevolent friend, named Mentor. While resident in the island, he learned all the particulars of the life of Ulysses. On the return of Mentes, he reembarked and sailed to Colophon, where, in a relapse of his complaint, he lost his eyesight. Returning after this misfortune to his native city, Smyrna, he made his first essays in poetry. But his affairs not prospering, he determined, in the hope of bettering himself, to migrate to Cuma. On his way thither, passing through Neonteichos, another Cumæan colony, he was so kindly received and entertained by one Tychius, a leather-cutter, that he remained for some time in his house. Here he composed the Thebaïs and Hymns. The Neonteichians afterwards used to show the spot where he sat and recited his verses. In the sequel, however, becoming less pleased with his condition among them, he prosecuted his journey to Cuma, and on his way through Larissa composed his epitaph on Midas king of Phrygia. In Cuma he carried on his rehearsals with the same applause as elsewhere. His offer, however, to settle there,

[1] Conf. Plato de Rep. p. 600.; Xenophan. Coloph. ap. Drac. Strat. p. 33.
[2] Conf. Aristot. ap. Heraclid. c. 32. ed. Schneidewin.

and render the city illustrious by his muse, on condition of support at the public expense, was declined by the citizens. It was here that the surname of Homeros[1], or the "Blind man," first superseded in familiar use his youthful appellation of Melesigenes.

"Leaving Cuma, he next established himself at Phocæa, where, pinched by want, he bargained with a citizen named Thestorides for his maintenance, on condition of his composing certain poems, to be made over, in return, to his patron, together with the benefits of their recital. These works were the Little Iliad and the Phocaïs. Soon after, Thestorides left Phocæa, and settled at Chios, where he passed off the poems as his own. Homer, on being apprised of this act of treachery, immediately set out for Chios by way of Erythræ. Unable to procure a passage by sea from that port, he wandered into the surrounding country, and after various adventures was engaged by Chius, a wealthy citizen of the town of Bolissus, as tutor to his sons. Here he composed the Cercopes, Battle of Frogs and Mice, Epikichlides, and other minor poems. On quitting Bolissus, he carried into effect his original intention of visiting Chios, from which city Thestorides, on hearing of his arrival, retired. During his residence in Chios he composed the Iliad and Odyssey, repaying his debt of gratitude to his antient benefactors, Mentes, Mentor, Phemius, and Tychius, by immortalising their names in the text of these his two greatest works. His genius now procured him both wealth and honours. He married and became the father of two daughters, one of whom died young; the other he betrothed to a citizen of the town. His fame had by this time spread into Continental Greece, and he yielded to the pressing invitations he had received to visit that country. Touching at Samos on his way, he composed the Caminus, or Potter's oven.[2] The vessel, continuing its course to Athens, next put in at the small isle of Ios, where the poet's voyage was brought to a sudden and fatal termination by his equally sudden illness and death. His remains were consigned to earth on the shore of the island."

Among the variations of this story, as embodied in other text-books, the most popular is that in

[1] For the various other etymologies, mythical or speculative, of the name, see Bode, Gesch. der Hellen. Dichtk. vol. i. p. 255. note, 259. note.

[2] For these and other minor Homeric poems see infra, Ch. xx.

which the poet's mother is described as a native of Ios, the islet of the Cyclad group celebrated in every variety of his history as the place of his death and sepulture. This account, which may be called the Ionian version of the Æolian legend, derives importance from the sanction of Aristotle. Its remaining details differ little in substance from those of the Cumæan tradition. The maiden is impregnated by a divinity unknown. Wandering disconsolate on the shore of her native island, she is carried off by pirates to Smyrna, then a Lydian town, and sold to king Mæon, who, captivated by her beauty, espouses her, and adopts as his own the son of whom she is delivered, as above, on the banks of Meles. Driven from Smyrna, when occupied by neighbouring tribes of Æolians, the poet takes refuge in Ios, the native island of his mother, where he is hospitably received and entertained by a citizen called Creophilus.[2] Here he composes his Siege of

[1] In Vit. Plutarch. i. 3. This version, however, helps remarkably enough to set aside Strabo's account (xiv. p. 633.) of a primitive Ionian foundation of Smyrna by colonists from Ephesus, afterwards ejected by the Æolian settlers from Cuma. For, in the Aristotelian legend, the Lydian aborigines of Smyrna are dispossessed at once, not by Ionians, but by Æolians. Strabo's tradition may safely be pronounced a local fiction, invented to favour the pretensions of the Ionian Confederacy to the old Æolian metropolis, during the subsequent struggles for its possession. Herodotus knows nothing of any such story; and had Aristotle and Aristarchus, or whoever may have been the first propounder of the Iete version of the poet's nativity, believed in any such, they would never have shaped their own tradition as above. In fact, in that tradition, the Ionian colonies were not yet founded at the period of the poet's birth. (Vit. Plut. ibid.) In the genuine legend, the antient Smyrna and its river Meles are purely and exclusively Æolian. See Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 142. sqq. 187.; conf. Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. i. p. 43.

[2] This Creophilus is a person of some celebrity in the mythical history of Homer, from the time of Plato (Rep. p. 600.) downwards; sometimes as son-in-law, sometimes as friend or patron, sometimes even as preceptor of the poet. In the more popular version of his own history he is

Œchalia, with which, as a mark of gratitude, he presents his host, and dies not long afterwards. The Homeric pedigree is carried back by several of these authorities to Apollo, through a long line of fabulous ancestors, comprising most of the principal poets and musicians of primeval celebrity.[1]

Favours his Æolian origin.

3. It need scarcely be remarked that throughout this tradition, as in the subsequent schools of criticism, the term "Homer" represents not merely a single poet, inventor and perfecter of the heroic style of epic composition, and author of its two greatest masterpieces, but the genius, or eponymus, of this higher epic style during its flourishing æra. In this latter figurative capacity Homer appears either as the author or originator of most of the great works modelled after the design of the Iliad and Odyssey, concerning the real origin of which no very positive notices were extant. The historical substance, therefore, if any there be, in the above biography, is, that the original poet was a denizen of one of the early Æolian colonies on the north-eastern coast of Asia Minor. His journeys

called a Samian (elsewhere a Chian), and transmitted his name to a school of Homeric literature in Samos, similar to that of the Homeridæ in Chios. He himself obtained credit, as will appear in the next chapter, for the authorship of several Homeric poems. He is also celebrated as the person from whom Lycurgus obtained the copy of the Iliad and Odyssey promulgated by him in Sparta (Aristot. ap. Heraclid. frg. 11. ed. Schneidewin). The name is usually written Creophylus; but the form here adopted is that authorised by Plato, and probably other earlier writers on the poet's history, whose text has been very improperly altered to accommodate it to the later usage. The form Creophylus appears to have originated mainly in an attempt to give etymological value to the title of the tribe or gens (φυλή) of the "Creophylians," or reputed descendants of the owner of the name; partly, perhaps, in the metrical convenience of epigrammatic writers. See Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 219. sqq. 226.

[1] See Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 323. sq.

from country to country and city to city, in the course of which his numerous works were composed, indicate, unless in so far as necessary even in his single person to acquire his extensive stock of geographical knowledge, the spread of his art through those regions where it continued chiefly to flourish, or where its more popular secondary specimens were produced. His ultimate settlement, marriage, admission to municipal rights, and composition of his two greatest works in Chios, may, on the same principle of interpretation, be held as figurative of the subsequent zeal of that city for the cultivation and preservation of his poems.

The Æolian legend is also embodied in the fabulous genealogy of the Lesbian Terpander[1], the great Æolian master and originator of the Greek school of scientific music in the first century of the Olympic æra. The descent of that artist is there deduced from both Homer and Hesiod. The Æolian character of the latter poet is ascertained, and in the popular legend he and Homer are described as first cousins[2] through their common Cumæan kindred. Similar in spirit is the tradition of the head and lyre of the Æolo-Thracian Orpheus floating across the Ægæan, in one version to Lesbos, in another to the mouth of the river Meles[3], the birthplace of Homer, as symbolic of the passage of song from Western to Eastern Hellas, with the Æolian migration. The very early connexion between the legend of Homer's birth and this Smyrnæan river is further evinced by an extant epigram

[1] Suid. v. Τέρπανδρος.

[2] Hellanicus and Pherecydes ap. Procl. in Vit. Hom.; Ephorus in Vit. Hom. Plutarch. i. 2.

[3] Supra, Vol. I. p. 158. n. 1.

of the Ionian poet Asius, who flourished in the eighth century B. C.[1]

The other claims on the poet's nativity cannot, whether in point of antiquity or inherent probability, enter into any reasonable competition with the Æolian legend. They seem, for the most part, to originate in some fanciful inference from facts or allusions contained in the various poems, genuine or spurious, as to a partiality of their author for the city in favour of which the honour was asserted. It was natural that the cities of Asia in which secondary works of the school were produced, or where they enjoyed popularity, should, amid the general doubt on the subject, also aspire to be the birthplace and residence of their eponyme author. His Ithacan predilections afforded a natural opening to the pretensions of that favoured island. In the same way he became a Thessalian, in honour of Achilles; an Argive, in compliment to Agamemnon and Diomed; a native of Cyprus, in respect of the Cypria; a Colophonian, on the strength of the Margites, where Colophon was celebrated. The pretensions of Athens[2], and even Egypt, can hardly imply any thing more than the proverbial title of those two regions, in later times, to have originated, directly or indirectly, every thing great or excellent in Grecian art and literature.[3]

[1] Ap. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 144. The antiquity of the Smyrnæan tradition is also borne out by Scylax, Peripl. § 97. (Klausen); and Pindar, Boeckh. ad frg. 86.

[2] Favoured by Aristarchus (Vit. Hom. Plut. II. 2.); partly on the ground stated in the text, partly, perhaps, from Athens having been the originator of the Ionian migration, with the vicissitudes of which Aristarchus seems to have connected the poet's nativity. See Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p 363., conf. 146.; Müll. Hist. of Gr. Lit. vol. I. p. 41.

[3] For the above and numerous other conjectural birthplaces of "Ho-

Rival claims of Ionia.

In spite of this general concurrence of the best accredited tradition, backed, as will be shown, by the internal evidence of the poems, the claims of Æolia upon Homer's nativity have been, in a great degree, set aside and overlooked, both in the antient and modern schools, in favour of the purely speculative opinion, that he was a native of the Ionian colonies established at a later period, farther to the south, on the same line of coast. Hence the phrases, "Ionian poet," "bard of Chios[1]," and the like, have become inveterate in popular use, as synonymous with the name Homer. This may be attributed to various causes; the chief of which, perhaps, is the circumstance already noticed, that the poems were from a very early period extensively cultivated, adopted as it were, and endowed with the rights of citizenship, by the Ionian states. Chios, in particular, boasted from a remote period of a race called Homeridæ, who claimed descent from the poet, and professed a peculiar devotion to his Muse.[2] The precise character of this fraternity, whether their poetical functions were derived from their name, or the name from their office and assumed ancestor, is doubtful; but the fact of their existence could not but be highly propitious, in later times, to the pretensions advanced by Chios to the much contested honour of Homer's nativity. The ascendancy of the Ionians in wealth, art, and civilisation, at the period when the poet's history and works first became subject of critical attention, would also favour their efforts

mer," see the biographies above cited; Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 157. sqq.; Nitzsch, Hist. Hom. fasc. II. p. 94. sqq.

[1] Simonid. frg. 69. Schneidewin.

[2] See Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 374. r.; Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 160. sqq.

to appropriate to themselves an Asiatic author whose origin was at the best doubtful. The early destruction, on the other hand, of Smyrna, around which the Æolian legends were concentrated, as were those of Ionia around Chios, with the subsequent transference of the former city, when restored, from the Æolic to the Ionian confederacy[1], would be as detrimental to the claims of Æolia, as advantageous to those of the rival district. With this amount of circumstantial evidence in favour of Chios, it becomes the more worthy of remark, in corroboration of the Æolian legend, that even the Chian traditions hardly advance any serious claim, beyond that of hospitable reception and protection, on the bard of Smyrna. His Æolian nativity they both admit and inculcate.[2]

Dialect of the poems.

4. It will now be proper to test these traditional data by those derived from the poet's works, and which appear equally conclusive in favour of the Æolian Homer. Some trite arguments have, however, been borrowed from the same source, in support of the claims of Ionia. The familiar title of Ionic, which a certain general resemblance to the cultivated Ionic of later times obtained for the poet's dialect, naturally led to its being classed in the popular text-books as itself of Ionian origin. In modern times it has also been customary to characterise its poetical attributes as the offspring of the lively versatile genius, refined manners, and joyous habits, which distinguished the Ionian colonies to-

[1] Herodot. I. 150.; Strab. p. 646.; conf. Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 250. sqq.

[2] See Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 155. sqq. In the Hymn to Apollo (172.) the poet is described merely as "dwelling in Chios," with a pointed ambiguity which seems almost to intimate that he was born elsewhere. So also Aristotle, Rhet. II. xxiii. 11.

wards the commencement of the Olympic æra.[1] The poet, therefore, who first carried to perfection the branch of composition in which that dialect chiefly excelled, was himself naturally presumed to be a native Ionian. This doctrine has, however, now lost much of its credit in more critical quarters. That the poetical culture of a language is in itself a necessary, or even an ordinary, concomitant of rapidly advancing social refinement, is in itself a questionable theory. But the dialect of Homer is marked by other features besides those of musical or metrical culture; features which, while no less characteristic of its true genius, are not certainly favourable to the above explanation of its rise and formation. It is distinguished by a native simplicity and energy which bespeak a martial vigour, or even ferocity, in the race among whom it flourished, not very compatible with the seductive effects of a soft climate and luxurious habits. But, independantly of these considerations, there are few better attested facts in the early history of the Greek language, than that the dialect which the Ionian colonists spoke during the earlier, more flourishing part of their career, was substantially the same which they brought with them from the mother country. It must, therefore, even if identical with that of the Homeric poems, which is by no means established, have been of primitive European, not of Asiatic formation. The language common to the whole race while united could not be the invention of a portion of it after their separation. The affinity appears also to have maintained its

[1] W. Müller, Hom. Vorsch. § 1. sq.; Heyn. Exc. III. ad Il. XXIV. p. 825. sq.; conf. Exc. ad Il. XXI.

ground long after that separation. Greek historians and geographers are agreed as to the fact, that the older Attic dialect and that of the Ionian colonies were, up to a comparatively late period, the same, or closely similar: and this similarity is traced by the same authorities to its true and only possible cause, that the two dialects were originally one common idiom, transferred by the Ionian settlers from Attica and Northern Peloponnesus to Asia.[1]

At an early stage of this history it was observed, that, according to the most probable, or indeed only critical view, the Homeric dialect had its origin in European Greece prior to the Dorian invasion. It was the common language of poetry during the heroic age of Hellas, formed and matured under the race of kings celebrated in the Iliad and Odyssey. Hence, one of its familiar properties is that of combining, in pristine simplicity of form, many of those idioms which, on the subsequent spread of literary culture are found peculiar to other dialects. After attaining its maturity in Continental Greece, it was transported to Asia, where it was carried to its highest stage of perfection by Homer. That its original formation, however, dates from the more remote period is further proved by the fact, that, even after the downfall of the Achæan or Pelopidan empire, it still maintained its former privilege throughout Continental Greece, as the dialect of all the higher branches of composition. The oracles were habitually delivered in it; the national poets everywhere continued to employ it, occasionally under

[1] Strab. VIII. p. 333., XIV. p. 679.; Eustath. ad Il. I. 30.; Pausan. II. XXXVII.; conf. Maitt. de Diall. p. XXXV. sq.

slight modifications derived from their native idiom. The dialect of Hesiod, for example (the author of the Works and Days), a native of Bœotia, a poet of purest Æolian birth and habits, and of nearly as antient date probably as Homer, is, with the exception of one or two local Bœotian forms, identical with the Homeric. That the influence of Ionian dialectical refinement could at this early period have extended across the Ægæan, to the rugged ridges of Helicon, or the recesses of the Pythian sanctuary, cannot reasonably be supposed. Hesiod himself tells us that he had never crossed the Ægæan. His poetical idiom was therefore as much his birthright, and that of the numerous race of European authors who inherited his name, as of any one of the bards of Chios or Colophon. The same holds good of other districts of Hellas no way connected with the Asiatic colonies; as evinced by the celebrity enjoyed, among other epic poets of this primitive age, by Stasinus of Cyprus, Eumelus of Corinth, and Cinæthon of Lacedæmon.

Theory of Crates.

5. Another view, which, both in respect to the country and the age of Homer, may be considered as that most broadly opposed to the Ionian theory, would make him flourish prior to the Dorian invasion, and by consequence, in the received chronology, to any Ionian settlement in Asia. This view has been rested still more confidently than the foregoing on the internal evidence of his works. It seems to have been first seriously put forth by the Alexandrian critic Crates[1], but found little favour with the

[1] Here consequently may be traced a curious illustration of the proverbial antagonism between Crates and Aristarchus. Crates, as appears from a notice in the Vit. Matrit., combined his view with an advocacy of

antients. In modern times it has been warmly advocated in several distinguished quarters.[1] The arguments of its supporters, if not conclusive in its own favour, help at least to place in a strong light some of the leading objections to the Ionian theory, against which they are mainly directed. As a general principle, it has been contended: that "the popular bard of an eventful age would naturally prefer recent subjects, possessing an immediate hold on the sympathies of his audience. This principle is, in fact, expressly inculcated by the poet himself, in the words of Telemachus.[2] But, had Homer lived after the invasion of the Heraclidæ, which drove the Ionians to migrate in quest of new seats, that event with their own subsequent Asiatic expeditions and conquests, would have furnished material more recent, as well as more interesting to an Ionian audience, than the siege of Troy. Even admitting that an Ionian Homer had preferred the tale of Troy to the wars of the Dorian conquest as the subject of his standard work, it were scarcely conceivable that, amid so much matter naturally involving allusions to the late revolution by which the destinies both of his own province and of all Greece were so deeply affected, not one such allusion should have escaped him throughout his many thousand lines of narrative." To this it is replied by the advocates of

the poet's Æolian origin; placing the date of his birth exactly coeval with that popularly assigned to the Æolian migration, or 60 years after Troy. Aristarchus, as an advocate of the Ionian theory, made the poet's birth exactly coeval with the Ionian migration, or 140 years after Troy. Vit. Hom. Plut. I. 3.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 145.

[1] Sir I. Newton, Chronology; Chandler, Hist. of Ilium, p. 40.; Mitford, Hist. of Gr. vol. I. p. 299. sqq. ed. 1829.

[2] Od. I. 351.

the Ionian theory: that "the very last subject on which any people would love to dwell, or which their popular poets would select for celebration, would be their ignominious expulsion from their native seats. This, therefore, was a case to which the incidental remark of Telemachus could not extend, even assuming it to be capable, under any circumstances, of so rigid an application. The poet, turning away with shame and sorrow from so dismal a catastrophe, would find far more congenial matter in the vicissitudes of a war eminently glorious to his own race, but in which their Dorian oppressors had taken no part. Homer, however, it is further maintained, has, in fact, alluded to the Dorian conquest, and precisely in such ambiguous mode as might under the circumstances have been expected, in the passage where Juno assures Jupiter that, 'if he will indulge her by the destruction of Troy, she will hereafter offer no obstacle to that of her own three favourite cities, Argos, Mycene, and Sparta.'"[1]

Ionian theory tested by the internal evidence of the poems.

6. The balance of the above argument, if, on the one hand, not sufficient to bear out the opinion that Homer flourished prior to the Dorian conquest, is not certainly more favourable to his Ionian origin. So stoical an indifference to the real destinies of his race on the part of a genial poet, in so voluminous a mass of poetical commentaries on their fabulous annals, were certainly a phenomenon without example in the history of literature. It is the universal privilege and custom of poets, in describing events of antient date, to apostrophise subsequent transactions connected with them, where deeply

[1] Il. iv. 51. sqq.; Payne Knight, Proleg. § lxiii. sqq.; Heyne, Exc. iii. ad Il. xxiv. p. 825. sqq.

interesting to their audience. The circumstance that such events were not entirely of an agreeable nature can form no exception to the general rule. When, therefore, we find Virgil predicting the historical vicissitudes of Rome, her misfortunes as well as her greatness; when we find Tasso dwelling on the future glories of the House of d'Este; when we find Homer himself adverting to coming events of national interest, to the subsequent fate of Ulysses, and of Æneas and his late posterity; it were hardly reasonable to expect so pervading a silence on the part of an Ionian poet, regarding the immediate future destinies of his Ionian fellow-countrymen, especially when of such momentous interest to those whom he addressed. Even admitting the passage regarding the destruction of the three Peloponnesian cities to point at the Dorian invasion, the allusion could hardly be that of an Ionian poet, betraying, as it does, indifference rather than concern for the disaster. But the anomaly in the case of an Ionian Homer would not be confined to mere silence or indifference; it would amount to a neglect or contempt inconceivable in any such case. Athens was the parent state of the Ionian colonies; it was the city which, in every version of their history, affords protection to the fugitives from the Dorian arms, and under whose auspices and leaders they crossed the Ægæan, and settled in their new possessions. How, then, can the insignificant part which Athens plays in the Iliad, or in the poet's fable generally, as compared with her celebrity in her own standard textbooks of heroic tradition, be reconciled with his Ionian origin? In the Iliad no Athenian chief is ever put prominently forward, except in an unfavourable

light.[1] No Athenian combatant is ever represented so much as killing an antagonist.[2] The allusions to Athens herself, or her affairs, are rare and incidental. What could have induced an Ionian Homer to celebrate so many Æolian or Achæan warriors, even chiefs of the hated race of Heraclidæ[3], as the flower of Hellenic chivalry, while the single Athenian hero mentioned by name, Menestheus, is scarcely brought on the stage but to be chid for his backwardness to the combat?[4] The consistency with which this secondary character of the Athenians is maintained from first to last might indeed be adduced among other valid arguments of the unity of design which animates the poem; or as evidence, at least, that among the rhapsodists supposed to have contributed their atoms to its creation very little can be due to a genuine Ionian.

No less pointed is the argument supplied by the cursory, or even contemptuous, mode in which, in the geographical notices occurring in the poem, the coast of Asia Minor, afterwards called Ionia, is passed over. Here, again, there could be no obligation, either in propriety or custom, to such modesty. To have dwelt on political revolutions not yet accomplished, or cities not yet founded, might have been taxed as superfluous, or out of place. But, in regard to the localities or scenery around which his own patriotic sympathies were concentrated, silence or reserve could as little be expected on the part of an Ionian Homer as of a Mantuan Virgil. Yet the only town, if

[1] The notice of Menesthens as a "good drill" (Il. II. 553.), for it is little more (even if the passage be genuine), can hardly form an exception:

[2] This exclusion is very remarkable in Il. XII. 331. sqq.

[3] See especially Il. V. 628. sqq.

[4] Il. IV. 338.

it already was one, to the south of the Æolian coast, mentioned in the Iliad, and that but once, in the catalogue of Trojan allies, is Miletus. Among the islands no notice whatever occurs of Samos. Chios, also overlooked in the Iliad, is once mentioned in the Odyssey[1], but merely as a sea-mark, and with the far from flattering epithet of "rugged Chios." Such is all the celebrity which the supposed "bard of Chios" has thought fit, amid plentiful opportunities, to bestow upon his own favoured birthplace.

The above considerations, in proportion as they invalidate the claims of the Ionian colonies on the poet's nativity, strengthen those of the neighbouring Æolia. The argument indeed in favour of this district combines, with the voice of popular tradition, an amount of evidence derivable from Homer's own text, or from historical probability, such as might hardly have been expected in so essentially fabulous a case. In order to do justice to these joint data, a few remarks will be necessary on the obscurer points which they involve in the early colonial history of Greece.

Connexion between the Trojan war and the Æolian migration.

7. That the legend of the Trojan war is in so far founded in fact, as to shadow forth a great struggle between the population of the eastern and that of the western shore of the Ægæan, terminating in the expulsion of the former race from their maritime territory, and its occupation by the victors, is not, it is believed, seriously denied by the more reasonable even of those who are least disposed to admit a basis of reality in Hellenic fable. The establishment of civilised Greek invaders among the comparatively barbarous aborigines of Libya, Sicily, or parts of Italy, might have been effected without any such obstinate

[1] III. 170. sqq.

struggle as to supply an important chapter of heroic tradition. But the submissive abandonment of their native seats, of the fairest regions of Asia Minor, by a race which all historical evidence implies had preceded the Greeks themselves in the arts both of peace and war, cannot be so easily explained. Whether or no the struggle, as in the poetical accounts, lasted ten years; whether the vanquished chief was called Priam, and his conqueror Agamemnon, or by some other name; the existence of the colonies seems to vouch for the main fact, that a body of Hellenic warriors subdued, after an obstinate resistance, the north-western coast of Asia Minor. This view may be taken in connexion with the legend of the Iliad, where the successive reduction of the neighbouring states, allies of Priam, constitutes the chief part of the first nine years' operations of the Greek army. Achilles describes himself as having subdued, inclusive of the isles of Lesbos and Scyros[1], no fewer than twenty-three cities or states, eleven by land and twelve in maritime expeditions[2], which must have extended therefore to a considerable distance from the central theatre of war.

An obstacle to any such connexion of fact and fable may seem to exist in the interval of sixty years interposed in the accredited chronology between the overthrow of Priam's empire and the occupation of the conquered territory. It can hardly be supposed that so fine a country, almost within sight of the native land of the victors, would have been at once so contemptuously relinquished by them as both that chronology and the Homeric legend inculcate. Still less probable is it, that, had the Greeks been so strangely indifferent to its value, its antient possessors would

[1] Il. ix. 129. 271. 668., xix. 326. sqq. [2] Il. ix. 328. sq.

have allowed it to lie waste during several generations. It would undoubtedly have been reoccupied, its towns rebuilt and refortified, to the extent sufficient to oppose at least as formidable a resistance as before to a more limited and less warlike body of invaders. No such second struggle, however, is recorded. The tradition, therefore, which describes the Greeks as returning in mass, after the fall of the city, to their native land, must be considered but as a poetical sequel to the purely poetical account which represents the expedition as undertaken for the sole purpose of recovering Helen. In the actual course of events of which notice is still extant in classical authors[1], it may be presumed that the Troad, if not at first fully colonised, was at least occupied by the victors until the vicissitudes of the mother country led to the complete establishment of the states of the Æolian confederacy. The hold thus obtained on the line of coast would afford opportunity for the subsequent extension of Hellenic settlement, and the Ionian colonies followed in the wake of their kinsmen to the northward.

Æolian predilections of Homer.

8. This view of the original settlement of the Æolian states strengthens their claim to be considered the mother country of Homer. Assuming his own

[1] Æschylus, Eumen. 398. Pindar (Nem. XI. 45.) and the prevailing tradition (Strab. XIII. p. 582. 621.; conf. IX. p. 402.; Hellanic. frg. 114. Did.) describe the Æolian migration as led by Orestes, son of Agamemnon; other inferior authorities by Penthilus, son of Orestes. Conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 103. In each case it may be asked Why should colonies from Bœotia and the neighbouring districts have selected, even in the legend, a Pelopidan leader, but that the title by conquest to the new territory, in the same legend, rested with the Pelopidan dynasty? The traditions of the Nosti, Hesiod, and Callinus also allude to Greek settlements in Ionia immediately after the fall of Troy. Düntz. fragm. p. 23.; Marcksch. fragm. Hes. 187.; Bach. Callin. frg. 7.; conf. Pausanias, VII. ii. 4.

ancestors to have been among the first occupants of the conquered region, he would have been nourished in the midst of the objects and associations best calculated to inspire him with ardour for the subject he has selected. The arguments urged above against the pretensions of Ionia, from the poet's ignorance of, or indifference to, Ionian localities, are here accordingly all reversed. Every page of the Iliad betrays a minute knowledge of the scenery of the Troad. Not merely the general outline of the landscape; hills, valleys, plains, headlands; but the gardens, fountains, and washing-troughs, in the environs of the destroyed city; the carriage-road, the beech trees, the fig groves; the fords of the rivers, the tombs and landmarks of the plain, are exhibited in the poet's descriptions with a native simplicity of effect which shows it to be a real Troad with which his own mind was identified, not the mere image of a foreign region which he celebrates. We have already seen that, although the whole country afterwards called Ionia is included in his Trojan Catalogue, not a single city of that country, with the doubtful exception of Miletus, is mentioned by name. The towns, on the other hand, of the comparatively narrow district of Mount Ida, extending along the Hellespont and the neighbouring shore of Propontis, are enumerated to the amount of twenty and upwards, including those previously destroyed by Achilles, or incidentally mentioned in other parts of the poem. Many of their names are identical with those of cities afterwards known as members of the Æolian confederacy; and although, no doubt, the Greek settlers may, in some instances, have retained the antient titles of Asiatic localities, yet in other cases, especially

where the names are of pure Greek formation, it may safely be assumed that the Æolian poet has availed himself of the joint opportunity which purely Æolian names afforded him, of both swelling his Trojan Catalogue, and doing honour to his native district. Another curious evidence of Homer's Æolian predilections exists in the circumstance, already noticed, of the importance attached by him in the Iliad to the destinies of Æneas and his race, as future sovereigns of a remnant of the Trojans, after the destruction of Priam's city and empire. There are, accordingly, few facts of the kind better attested, than that the rulers of several states in this same region of Ida asserted and enjoyed, from the remotest period, the honour of a traditional descent from the Dardanian hero.[1] Among those states, Gergithes, on the north side of the mountain, advanced a more especial claim to this honour. Hence it is, no doubt, that we find that community, though not mentioned by Homer as a Trojan city, celebrated by him indirectly, and by anticipation, in the name of Gorgythion, a son of Priam. In the same way the name of another later Æolian locality, Cebrene, is poetically forestalled by that of Cebriones, a still more distinguished member of the Trojan royal family.[2]

While the Æolian tradition, as thus extending to the earliest Greek colonists, has the advantage of giving a wide latitude to reasonable conjecture as to the precise epoch at which Homer may have flourished, it also escapes the objection urged by the followers of Crates against the Ionian theory from the poet's want of sympathy with the victims of the Dorian invasion,

[1] See K. O. Müller, in Class. Journ. vol. xxvi. p. 311.; Grote, Hist. of Gr. vol. i. p. 427. sqq.

[2] Il. viii. 302. 318. alibi.

or from his ungrateful neglect or contempt of their Attic benefactors. To the colonists from Bœotia or Thessaly, already settled in Asia, the revolutions of Southern Greece were matters of comparative indifference. Such incidental allusions as that placed in the mouth of Juno, to the three Peloponnesian cities, were as much as could reasonably be expected from an Æolian poet.

The picture of Greece presented in the Iliad and Odyssey, the descriptions they contain of the component elements of the victorious army and of its leading heroes, also abundantly betray Æolian feelings and predilections. It was a nice question among the antient critics, why Homer should have commenced his catalogue with Bœotia.[1] The question, as treated by them, seems frivolous, owing to the frivolity of the attempts at its solution; but, weighed on more critical grounds, it is not so superfluous as it appears. Modern commentators[2] have also expressed surprise that an "Ionian poet" should have been at pains to assign so great a prominence to this district, and enumerate its cities in greater detail than those of any other part of Greece, while the cities of Attica itself, the metropolitan state of the Ionian colonies, are passed over unnoticed with the single exception of the capital. The mystery is explained by the consideration that Bœotia, in her turn, claimed and enjoyed, in after ages, the undisputed honours of metropolitan state of the Æolian confederacy.[3] It was natural, therefore, that she should be placed, by the Æolian poet, in the van of the host by whom the country had been subdued. The prominence

[1] Scholl. ad Il. II. 494. [2] Heyne, Obs. ad Il. II. 508.
[3] Thuc. VII. 57., VIII. 100., III. 2.; conf. Schol. ad l.; Strab. IX. p. 402.

given to individual heroes of Æolian blood is also remarkable. The protagonist of each poem is of that race, as are four of the seven chiefs of first rank before Troy, Achilles, Ulysses, Nestor, Diomed. The ascendancy of Æolian associations may also be traced in the chief episodical narratives of each poem. Such are the histories of Bellerophon and Meleager in the Iliad, and the adventures of Theoclymenus in the Odyssey. This latter episode, indeed, from its very slender connexion with the main action of the poem, might almost appear to have been specially intended to confer honour on the Melampodian family, whose Æolo-Bœotian claims to celebrity have also been recognised by Hesiod in a separate poem in their honour. In the personages most prominently put forward in the Necromancy of the Odyssey the same partiality is observable. Of the seven heroines first introduced, on whose history so pointed an attention is bestowed, six are Æolians: Tyro, ancestress of the chief families of Southern Thessaly; Chloris, the wife of Neleus; Iphimedea, the mother of the Aloïdæ; and three illustrious Bœotian dames, Antiope, Alcmena, and Epicasta. The sad destiny of the latter heroine, conjointly with that of her son Œdipus, is also concisely but circumstantially described. Leda alone, among the rest, as the mother of Helen and the Dioscuri, is honoured with any detailed notice. Of the only three heroes whose torments are described, two are Æolians, Tityus a Bœotian giant, and Sisyphus son of the eponyme patriarch of the Æolian race. Homer, like Dante[1], exults in the celebrity enjoyed by his nation even in hell.

[1] Godi . . . poichè sei sì grande,
Che per mare e per terra batti l' ali,
E per lo inferno il tuo nome si spande!

His age tested by his descriptions of manners.

9. In the popular adjustment of the Æolian legend, Cuma, founded in 1033 B. C., was the city where the poet's family first settled. Smyrna, founded in 1015 B. C. by Cumæans, was the place of his birth.[1] He could not, therefore, on this basis, have been born prior to the latter date, or about ninety years after the Dorian invasion. This account seems to be but a figurative adaptation of the poet's nativity to his supposed character and circumstances. For the most illustrious of Æolia's sons, Smyrna, the chief city of the confederacy, was naturally selected as birthplace. Cuma, on the other hand, as the first Æolian city which attained celebrity, and mother of Smyrna, no less readily suggested itself as the earliest Asiatic seat of his ancestors. It was also the ascertained seat of the family of Hesiod, a circumstance not, probably, without influence in the selection. The only historical inference to be derived from this arrangement is, the inveteracy of the tradition relative to Homer's Æolian origin. Any more critical attempt to elucidate his age[2] must depend mainly on a comparison of the state of manners described in his poems, with that which prevailed at the later period when historical light begins to shine somewhat more clearly on the affairs of Greece, towards the first Olympiad, or the year 776 B.C. The interval of years which a fair estimate of the difference in the two states of society warrants our interposing between the periods in which they respectively prevailed, added to 776, the year of the first Olympiad, will give the less certain date of which we are in search.

[1] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 140.; conf. 105.

[2] For the multitude of conflicting opinions, or rather random conjectures, of the antients on this subject, see Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 145. sqq.

The main characteristics of the state of manners depicted by Homer are all more or less connected with the form of government which he describes. This may be defined as a combination of the feudal and patriarchal systems, such as prevailed in various countries of modern Europe even within a recent period. In heroic Greece, as in the modern middle ages, chiefs of inferior degree, while paying allegiance by service or tribute to some other potentate of higher rank, enjoyed a royal supremacy in their own district. The dominions of Agamemnon, for example, are described, in general terms, as comprehending all Peloponnesus ("Argos") and many islands.[1] Yet, in the Catalogue and other more specific notices of the separate states of the confederacy, the territories of Menelaus, Nestor, and Diomed occupy a much larger portion of the peninsula than the share allotted to Agamemnon; nor is any island whatever specified as belonging to the latter king. This supreme sovereignty, therefore, was but a species of feudal lordship[2] exercised by him over the peninsula and its dependancies. The following cases may be adduced in closer illustration. Among the gifts offered by the repentant "King of Men' to Achilles were seven cities in the Pylian Gulf, "inhabited by men of substance, who would honour him with tribute as their liege lord."[3] These cities lay widely detached from the territory of Agamemnon, between the dominions of Menelaus and Nestor.

[1] Il. II. 108.

[2] Traces of this supremacy may be recognised in the legend of Pindar (Pyth. XI. 48., Nem. XI. 44.), Stesichorus, and Simonides (Schol. ad Eurip. Orest. 46.), which placed the royal residence of Agamemnon at Lacedæmon; conf. Pausan. III. XIX. 5.; Müller, Orchom. 2d ed. p. 313.

[3] Il. IX. 149.

Hence, probably, why they are omitted in the Catalogue. They could neither be politically comprehended in the districts of Lacedæmon or Pylos, nor geographically in the proper dominions of Agamemnon; nor were they sufficiently important to constitute a section by themselves. They sent, however, their contingent to the war, as appears by the passage[1] where two warriors slain by Æneas are described as sons of Diocles of Pheræ, one of the seven communities. By this same Diocles Telemachus is hospitably entertained at Pheræ, on his journey from Pylos to Lacedæmon.[2] Diocles was, therefore, a petty prince, exercising sovereign authority in his own state, but paying allegiance and tribute to Agamemnon, who offers to make over these rights with the hand of his daughter to Achilles. In the same way Phœnix was invested by Peleus with the feudal sovereignty of a province of his dominions[3]; and Menelaus expresses his intention of paying his debt of gratitude to Ulysses in the same substantial manner.[4] From the historical details of the Odyssey[5] it is also evident that the leading suitors were petty princes under the feudal supremacy of the Laertian family. Priam is described as lord of the whole region of Phrygia between the Hellespont and Lesbos, inclusive of that island.[6] Yet the numerous chiefs of those countries, whose troops swelled the Trojan forces, exercise, each in his own locality, a sovereign sway. This higher imperial class of royal authority is apostrophised by the poet in terms indicating the deep reverence, almost amounting to religious veneration[7], with which, both

[1] Il. v. 541. sqq. [2] Od. iii. 488., xv. 186. [3] Il. ix. 483.
[4] Od. iv. 174. [5] i. 394.; conf. viii. 390. [6] Il. xxiv. 544. sqq.
[7] Il. ii. 204., ix. 98., xii. 212.; Od. xvi. 401. alibi.

in his own and the public estimation, it was contemplated; and which contrast curiously with the equally strong sentiments of reprobation or contempt entertained for the same dignity during the republican ages of Greece.

The beneficial effects of this state of society in the promotion of heroic poetry are obvious. While the amplest scope was afforded to the martial energies of the dominant order, its members were subjected at the same time to such an amount of control, civil or military, as to prevent their spirit of chivalrous rivalry from degenerating into lawless violence. Each considerable landholder was in his own sphere a king and general. A dispute between two neighbours about a right of pasture, which in other times would be settled by a law-plea, gave rise to a warlike adventure, celebrated by a heroic ballad. But the same rival powers were not the less readily united under the common bond of patriotism and feudal allegiance, in the prosecution of great enterprises supplying subjects for a higher class of minstrelsy.

The only occupations generally followed by the upper class, besides war and navigation, were those of rural and domestic economy. Hence the performance of offices considered in more advanced stages of social culture as menial and humiliating was, to Homer's heroes, not only useful employment but pleasurable pastime. The same hand which wielded the sceptre was not ashamed to assist as mason or joiner in the structure of the royal dwelling, or even as butcher or cook in the sacrifical rites. The king's son tended the flocks, and the princesses helped their maidens to wash the family

linen. An action which it was not beneath the dignity of a king to perform, it was not degrading in the Epic Muse to celebrate; and our sympathy with the genius of the poet's age, as much as the brilliancy of his own descriptions, causes us to enjoy, in his account of the every-day life of his heroes, much that would be offensive or ridiculous in a poem of the present day. Similar is the case with the language of those heroes. Whether in familiar discourse or fierce altercation, the oratory of men neither afraid nor ashamed to call things by their real names must always possess a power of dramatic effect, for which no studied refinement of modern poetical rhetoric can compensate.

How far those descriptions represent the state of society in his own time.

10. Before adopting this picture of society as a criterion for estimating the age of its author, a question of some importance occurs: How far is that picture to be considered as exhibiting the manners of the poet's own times, how far those of the times which he celebrates. There are probably few students of Homer to whom, from the day when his poems were first placed in their hands as a subject of schoolboy task, until the question was forced on their attention as a point of critical discussion, it has ever occurred to doubt that his sketches of life were borrowed from the reality. There is an artless truthful sincerity about them which appears altogether beyond the mechanical skill of a retoucher of old and faded portraits. Many poets and romance writers of civilised ages have, it is true, succeeded, by a happy combination of antiquarian research and illustrative talent, in dressing up such pictures in colours so plausible as to produce a lively impression of their reality. Still there remains a wide difference between

them and those transmitted by contemporary authors; between the elaborate compositions of Walter Scott, and the original sketches of Villani or Froissart. But all such studied arts of the literary antiquary were as foreign to the genius of Homer as the means for their exercise were beyond his reach.

Essential, however, as it may be to the poetical effect of such descriptions, that they should be borrowed from real life, it is by no means so indispensable that they should represent the manners of the period described. The difference between the description and the reality could, in the present case, at the most be but trifling: and Homer's investment of the warriors of Trojan times with the habits of his own seems certainly both more consistent with his genius and more conducive to the poetical spirit of his narrative, than any attempt to embody antiquarian speculations as to the changes which might have taken place.

The chief objection urged to the admission of such genuine truthfulness in his descriptions has been the anomaly observable in some of their details; the contrasts of rudeness and refinement, luxury and frugality, in the habits of his heroes. Some commentators have supposed that, in these symptoms of more advanced politeness, he artlessly represents the state of society with which he was himself familiar; while, in his ruder pictures, he attempts to transplant his readers into that of a former generation. Others would discover in the former class of passages argument of different authorship. Both inferences are equally fallacious. Such contrasts are the usual characteristics of a comparatively barbarous state of society advancing in civilisation. The refinements or luxuries

introduced from abroad cannot fail, in every such case, to appear in marked contrast to the rudeness on which they are engrafted; especially to the eye accustomed to judge by the standard of a fully civilised age, where all such anomalies are smoothed down in the general polish of the social fabric. The same thing is exemplified, under very similar features, in the habits of the antient tribes of Palestine, as portrayed in the Mosaic writings.[1] In Greece, a country farther removed from the great fountain-heads of Oriental culture, the anomaly would naturally be more marked. Nor could it fail to be greatly exaggerated in poetical description. A popular poet had no inducement to diguise the ordinary social habits of his day, even where capable of such treatment. Princes tending their flocks, or princesses acting the laundress, were matters of fact rather than subjects of fictitious embellishment. But the palace of a wealthy king, its furniture, or the decoration of his person and table, homely as they might have appeared in the age of the Ptolemies, were wonderful in the eyes of the poet's contemporaries. They afforded, by consequence, material for such poetical enlargement as renders them the more apparently inconsistent with the simple domestic habits of the proprietor. There can also be little doubt that the whole, or a very large portion, of the nobler works of art described in the poems were of foreign importation.[2] As such they are, in fact,

[1] The contrast appears in still more striking, even grotesque, forms, between the native habits of the North American Indians, or other tribes of savages in modern times, and the European arts and luxuries with which they have been made familiar.

[2] See Hirt, Amalthea, vol. II. p. 52.; who, however, goes too far in assuming that the same arts were not practised in Greece. In our own

specified in many cases by the poet. Even, therefore, without any exaggeration, they would broadly contrast with the more homely produce of native manufacture. Of the degree, however, to which these descriptions really are exaggerated, the episodes of the Shield of Achilles, of the Palace and Gardens of Alcinoüs, and others, afford abundant evidence; much of the splendour which here dazzles being not only of a marvellous but a supernatural character.

Result favourable to his Æolian origin.

11. In reverting to the main question, as to the light reflected by the above picture of manners on the epoch at which its author flourished, one cannot fail to be struck with the difference between the form of political government which he portrays and that which prevailed in Greece from the earliest dawn of authentic history, about or prior to the commencement of the Olympic æra. At that period, with the exception of a few chiefly Dorian states of Peloponnesus, where the name and rank of king, though still maintained, no longer represented the former powers of royalty, monarchal rule was extinct throughout Greece and its dependancies. Republicanism, in its various modifications, was every where recognised as the legitimate form of government; and in many, especially the Asiatic states, the spirit of party, with all its machinery and terminology, was fully matured. The efficient, if not the immediate cause of this revolution, was the general break up in the social

medieval romance, English crusaders are generally armed with "Damascus blades," and modern German novelists adorn their heroines with Parisian jewellery; but it does not follow in the one case that there were no swords made in England in the thirteenth century, or in the other that there are now no jewellers in Berlin or Dresden. Native artists skilled in working the precious metals are frequently alluded to in both poems.

fabric of the confederacy, and the changes in its population, consequent on the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus. While in that peninsula the royal dignity continued to exist without regal power, in Attica and the Bœotian states it speedily disappeared both in name and substance. It can hardly be doubted that the republican principle was also about the same time largely developed, though at first probably under aristocratic forms, in the Ionian colonies founded under the auspices of the Athenian leaders who had aided in abolishing or limiting the royal authority at home. Bodies of enterprising men, collected from different regions for the express purpose of colonisation, or to escape oppression in their native seats, would, on occupying a new country on the more or less equal footing of independant adventurers, be the more keenly alive to the charm of popular institutions. There exists, accordingly, no historical trace of royalty, in the Homeric sense, in these colonies.[1]

The presumption that this important revolution in the political state of the Greeks was complete not long after the Dorian invasion, if not sufficient inducement to place the poet's epoch prior to that event, is at least an argument for carrying it as far back as were otherwise consistent with probability. The inference here, as before, is favourable to the claims of the Æolian colonies on his nativity. These settlements, as dating prior to the revolution in the mother country in which the above political changes originated, and formed under leaders boasting descent from the princes by whom

[1] See Appendix F.

the new territory had been conquered, would be likely to adhere longer and more closely to the old patriarchal system in the form exhibited in the poet's descriptions.

The argument in favour of Homer's antiquity derivable from the social habits of his heroes, though not without its weight, is less pointed. The changes in the domestic manners of Greece during this period were apparently less rapid than those in her political government. Traces of the same homely simplicity may be discovered among the higher class down to a comparatively late epoch.[1] But here again the inference, in so far as it reaches, is unfavourable to the pretensions of the Ionians, as the part of the nation where the old patriarchal habits, with the increase of maritime trade and more extended intercourse with Asia, were most rapidly effaced.

Promulgation and preservation of his poems in Ionia.

But the same traditional evidence which constrains us to award the honour of the poet's birthplace to Æolia secures to the Ionian states, by equally valid right, that of having most zealously cultivated and preserved the fruits of his genius, and extended the school of poetry founded by him through its various ramifications of Homerids, Cyclic poets, and hymnographers. This adoption or appropriation of his muse, the second important stage in the "Life of Homer," was a natural consequence of the subsequent Ionian ascendancy in power, wealth, and influence, and is no less distinctly shadowed forth in the tradition of his subsequent wanderings. His offer to

[1] Of the palace hall of the king of Macedon, see Herodot. VIII. CXXXVII.; of Melissa, wife of Periander of Corinth, serving drink to her father's labourers, Athen. Deipn. XIII. p. 589.; of Cleobuline washing the feet of her father's guests, Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. p. 523.

settle in Cuma, so ungraciously declined by its citizens, and ultimate prosperous domicile and marriage in Chios, are a plain figure of the transfer of the chief credit and popularity of his poems from his native region to the latter city and coast. Hence, too, may be explained how, in every version of the legend, he dies and is buried in the isle of Ios.[1] This locality, so insignificant unless as connected with the legend of Homer, evidently appears in that legend as the eponyme of Ionian colonisation; an honour which seems to have attached to it, both in right of its name, and as the first Ionian land visited by the sons of Codrus on crossing the Ægæan.[2]

His personal character and fortunes, as illustrated by his works.

12. In so far as the personal lot of the poet, the degree of honour, fame, or other worldly blessings, he may have enjoyed, or the adverse destiny to which he may have been subjected, can reasonably be tested by the same internal data supplied by his works, the inference must be that he was a prosperous man. Poetical genius is there represented as a passport to honour and emoluments. Every princely establishment maintained a professional minstrel, a habitual guest at the royal table, and who, if not invested with the attributes of sanctity, as his familiar epithet of divine might import, appears to have occasionally combined with the character of poet that of sage, or even minister of state. Agamemnon, on his departure for Troy, consigns his youthful wife, Clytemnestra, to the guardianship of a bard. By his influence and authority, so long as he lived, she was preserved from pollution. Through his destruction alone, Ægisthus was enabled to ac-

[1] From Scylax (Perip. ed. Klausen, 59.) downwards.
[2] Vit. Hom. Plut. I. III.

complish his pernicious purpose.[1] That Homer, therefore, as the prince of the fraternity, largely partook of its privileges, can hardly be doubted. Both Iliad and Odyssey, amid all their lively sallies of passion and feeling, also display a placid tone of general sentiment, bespeaking a mind at ease with itself and contented with its lot. Here, however, his own testimony stands in somewhat strange contrast with the more popular accounts of his life current in later ages, where he appears as a distressed wanderer, whose talents barely suffice to procure him a precarious subsistence, extorted as much perhaps by compassion for his lot, as admiration of his genius. There occur indeed, some more favourable versions of this chapter of his history. The author of the joint biography of Homer and Hesiod represents the former as a wandering bard it is true, but as one highly honoured, and at times munificently rewarded. The dismal account of his earlier adventures is also, in the Æolian legend, relieved by his attainment, at the close of life, of a competence and settled residence at Chios; while Proclus, without entering into details, observes with some simplicity, but not without plausibility, that "Homer must have been a man of no mean substance to have visited so many countries at a period when travelling must have been so expensive." Plato, on the other hand, alludes to his lot as that of the humblest itinerant minstrel, exposed, even on the part of his patrons, to frequent neglect and contumely.[2] The antiquity and popularity of this more

[1] Od. III. 267. sqq.

[2] De Repub. p. 600.; conf. Paus. I. ii. 3.; Dio. Chrys. Or. XI. p. 311. ed. Reisk.

gloomy view of his history are in some degree vouched for by the extant epigrams ascribed to himself, in which he complains of his unhappy fate, and stigmatises those who by their unkind treatment had helped to embitter it.[1] Several of these productions appear, by reference both to their style and matter, to date from a period at which the Homeric school of epic poetry still maintained a lingering existence. They may be considered as figuratively expressing, on the one hand, the fact that at the epoch when they were composed all authentic notices of the poet had perished; on the other, the very natural inference, that, had his treatment in life corresponded to his merits, his memory would have been more effectually preserved. They may also figure the ordinary condition of the popular minstrel in the lower periods of epic art; when its professors, degraded from the rank of original bards to little more than promulgators of the works of their predecessors, may have found some consolation in assuming their great master to have been reduced to the same shifts by which they were accustomed to earn their subsistence.

Comparative estimate of his genius.

13. To the above speculations on Homer's life and history as a man, it may seem almost superfluous, after the copious train of previous illustration, to add another word on his genius as an author. It may still, however, be desirable to contemplate, in one comparative view, those attributes which have procured for him, by the unanimous award of three thousand years, the dignity not only of father, but of prince, of poets.

Homer's superiority to his successors consists, first,

[1] Vit. Hom. Herodot. ix. xiv.

in having excelled them all in the one or two most essential attributes of an epic poet; secondly, in his having possessed the remainder, collectively, in greater fulness than has ever been exemplified in any other case. In conception and portraiture of character, and the deeper vein of tragic pathos, he may be equalled, if not surpassed, by Shakspeare; in moral dignity of thought and expression by Milton; in the grace and delicacy of his lighter pictures by Petrarch or Ariosto; and in the gloomy grandeur of his supernatural imagery by Æschylus or Dante. But no one of these poets has combined, in a similar degree, those various elements of excellence in each of which they may separately claim to compete with him.

Among the properties of his art, on the other hand, in which Homer stands superior to all competitors, a first place belongs to the general design and composition of his poems. The Iliad and Odyssey, as they are the earliest, are still, each in its proper sphere, the noblest models of the heroic epopee, the unrivalled standards of poetical unity and harmony combined with extent and variety of structure. The long and severe scrutiny to which, by a partial and hypercritical code of by-laws, they have been subjected by the last generation of critics, even to the minutest joints and fibres of their mechanical texture, has served but the more firmly to establish their claim to the above high distinction, awarded to them by the greatest authorities of every age, from Aristotle downwards. Nor, when the late controversies shall have become matter of past history, will it redound to the credit of the present age of literature, that so many eminent scholars should have gloried in a blindness to those excellences upon

which, directly or mediately, all that is great and admirable in poetical art has ever since been modelled.

The next peculiar excellence of Homer is that happy combination of epic and dramatic management to which attention has frequently been directed in the course of this analysis. This is a faculty which he not only possesses in a degree far surpassing any other poet, but of the nature and value of which his successors seem to have had very little conception. Amid the spirit of imitation which actuates them in regard to so many other features of his style, scarcely an effort can be discovered to emulate him in this. Dante, as in some other essential attributes of the epic poet, here also ranks next to Homer, yet with a wide interval. The individual pictures of the Tuscan bard stand forth, indeed, in broad colours of truth and reality; but the mimetic effect of his general action bears no comparison with that of the Iliad or Odyssey.

The third, and perhaps the most remarkable, of Homer's distinctive peculiarities consists in his uniting the delicacy of ideas and purity of expression which form the usual characteristic of the more advanced stages of literature, frequently of its decline, with the native simplicity and vigour of a primitive age. The state of half-civilisation in which he flourished, although that most generally favourable to heroic poetry, possesses also this drawback, that the same simplicity which insures originality and vigour is, in a corresponding degree, opposed to propriety and elegance. This may be illustrated by the parallel of the two modern poets who, either in their own genius or the circumstances under which they composed, offer

the nearest analogy to Homer, Dante and Shakspeare. Both flourished, like Homer, at a period which, while affording similar scope to poetical freedom and power, was proportionally unfavourable to poetical taste. But the Greek poet is alone distinguished by the honourable peculiarity, that, while adorned by all the higher excellences of the primitive Muse, he has escaped that coarseness of sentiment and crudity of style, with that turn for obscenity and the kindred branches of low humour, which so frequently offend even in the noblest passages of the Italian and British bards. Nor can there be a more striking proof of the innate delicacy of his own taste and that of his age and country, than the fact that, while the entire Iliad and Odyssey offer scarcely a line calculated to call forth a blush on the most fastidiously modest cheek, there is hardly a tale or a drama of our own Christian Chaucer or Shakspeare which a father of a family could venture to place, unpurified, into the hands of a youthful wife or daughter.

The fourth distinctive property of Homer's muse, its pure and genuine originality, connects itself with a parallel feature of distinction, already noticed in a former chapter [1], between the ruder stages of society in Greece, and the corresponding periods of our own middle ages. A concise summary of the remarks there most pointedly urged will suffice for present illustration.

The semi-barbarism of Homer's age was one in which art advanced under exclusively indigenous auspices from infancy to maturity. No external circumstances interfered to thwart the free course of his own or the national genius. He had no foreign

[1] Vol. I. p. 132. sqq.

models to imitate, no grammatical or critical rules to obey. His materials and mode of treatment, his subjects, mythology, metre, and style, all flowed spontaneously, in natural channels, from the same pure native sources.

In our own early age of literature all this was reversed. The transition stage of society which produced Dante, the Homer of modern poetry, was founded on the ruins, and constructed with the fragments, of a former state of culture. Original genius, where not entirely perverted from its natural course, was shackled and led astray by the trammels of scholastic pedantry; by a spirit of imitation frequently directed towards what was least worthy of being copied; by a servile deference to a foreign language, and a mythology extraneous to the real habits or sympathies of the author or his public. These causes, apart from all reference to the individual minds of the men, suffice to explain much of the chaste and elegant simplicity which, whether in his highest flights or humblest walks, characterises the style of Homer, as contrasted with the grotesquely compounded mythology, scholastic quaintness, or far-fetched conceits, which too often deform the finest passages of Dante or Shakspeare.

On a distinctive peculiarity of his school of composition.

14. One of the most prominent forms in which this native simplicity and purity of the Hellenic bard displays itself, is the entire exclusion of sentimental or romantic love from his stock of poetical materials. This is a characteristic which, while inherited in a greater or less degree by the whole more flourishing age of Greek poetical literature, possesses also the additional source of interest to the modern

scholar, of forming one of the most striking points of distinction between antient and modern literary taste.

So great an apparent contempt, on the part of so sensitive a race as the Hellenes, for an element of poetical pathos which has obtained so boundless an influence on the comparatively phlegmatic races of Western Europe, is a phenomenon which, although it has not escaped the notice of modern critics, has scarcely met with the attention which its importance demands. By some it has been explained as a consequence of the low estimation in which the female sex was held in Homer's age, as contrasted with the high honours conferred on it by the courtesy of medieval chivalry; by others as a natural effect of the restrictions placed on the free intercourse of the sexes among the Greeks. Neither explanation is satisfactory. The latter of the two is set aside by Homer's own descriptions, which abundantly prove that in his time, at least, women could have been subjected to no such jealous control as to interfere with the free course of amorous intrigue. Nor even, had such been the case, would the cause have been adequate to the effect. Experience seems rather to evince that the greater the difficulties to be surmounted, the higher the poetical capabilities of such adventures. Erotic romance appears, in fact, to have been nowhere more popular than in the East, where the jealous separation of the sexes has, in all ages, been extreme. As little can it be said that Homer's poems exhibit a state of society in which females were lightly esteemed. The Trojan war itself originates in the susceptibility of an injured husband;

and all Greece takes up arms to avenge his wrong. The plot of the Odyssey hinges mainly on the constant attachment of the hero to the spouse of his youth; and the whole action tends to illustrate the high degree of social and political influence consequent on the exemplary performance of the duties of wife and mother. Nor surely do the relations subsisting between Hector and Andromache, or Priam and Hecuba, convey a mean impression of the respect paid to the female sex in the heroic age. As little can the case be explained by a want of fit or popular subjects of amorous adventure. Many of the favourite Greek traditions are as well adapted to the plot of an epic poem or tragedy of the sentimental order, as any that modern history can supply. Still less can the exclusion be attributed to a want of sensibility, on the part of the Greek nation, to the power of the tender passions. The influence of those passions is at least as powerfully and brilliantly asserted in their own proper sphere of poetical treatment, in the lyric odes, for example, of Sappho or Mimnermus, as in any department of modern poetry. Nor must it be supposed that even the nobler Epic or Tragic Muse was insensible to the poetical value of the passion of love. But it was in the connexion of that passion with others of a sterner nature to which it gives rise, jealousy, hatred, revenge, rather than in its own tender sensibilities, that the Greek poets sought to concentrate the higher interest of their public. Any excess of the amorous affections which tended to enslave the judgement or reason was considered as a weakness, not an honourable emotion, and hence was confined almost invariably to women. The nobler sex are represented as comparatively in-

different, often cruelly callous, to such influence; and, when subjected to it, are usually held up as objects of contempt rather than admiration. As examples may be cited the amours of Medea and Jason, of Phædra and Hippolytus, of Theseus and Ariadne, of Hercules and Omphale. The satire on the amorous weakness of the most illustrious of Greek heroes embodied in the last-mentioned fable, with the glory acquired by Ulysses from his resistance to the fascinations of Circe and Calypso, may be jointly contrasted with the subjection by Tasso of Rinaldo and his comrades to the thraldom of Armida, and with the pride and pleasure which the Italian poet of chivalry appears to take in the sensual degradation of his heroes. The distinction here drawn by the antients is the more obvious, that their warriors are least of all men described as indifferent to the pleasures of female intercourse. They are merely exempt from subjection to its unmanly seductions. Ulysses, as he sails from coast to coast, or from island to island, willingly partakes of the favours which fair goddesses or enchantresses press on his acceptance. But their influence is never permitted permanently to blunt the more honourable affections of his bosom, or divert his attention from higher objects of ambition.

Origin of the modern romantic or sentimental school.

15. It will not be difficult to show that this peculiarity is but an element of the genial simplicity above noticed as proper to the flourishing age of the Greek heroic Muse; that the invasion, on the other hand, and all but exclusive usurpation of the pathetic interest of modern poetry by a single passion, is a consequence of the corruption of manners and tastes inherited from the declining ages of classical art.

In the state of society described by Homer, offering,

as it did, so many more manly sources of incitement to the adventurous spirit of the hero, the tender ingredient of sexual affection possessed interest only as contributing to his domestic happiness. The poetical value of the excess of that affection, as of other baneful passions, lay chiefly in the moral lessons it afforded. But when war, maritime enterprise, the chase, and other favourite subjects of early minstrelsy, acquire, with advancing refinement, that commonplace character which unfits them for the poet's purpose, he must have recourse to other expedients for working on the sympathies of his public. The passion of love here naturally offers itself. Of an essentially social nature, and founded on the instincts rather than the reason, that passion alone remains exempt from the vulgarising effects of civilisation. Its power would even appear to be extended by the same complexity of social habits which blunts the influence of its rivals, and by the greater obstacles interposed to its free gratification. The poet, therefore, discovers in it his most effectual hold on the personal sensibilities of every class of society.

The truth of these remarks is borne out by the vicissitudes of literary history from the days of Homer downwards. During the best ages of Greece, the rule sanctioned by his example, whether from a deference to his authority or from national taste and habit, continued to be observed, or was but slightly infringed. The energy and activity of republican manners afforded a partial substitute for the old spirit of patriarchal independance, in securing the antient class of subjects a preference both with epic and dramatic writers. The first marked influence of a taste for pure love adventure is ob-

servable in the declining ages of Attic literature and manners; especially in the brilliant comedy of Menander, where love, as the native critics express it, absorbs all other sources of interest. During the Roman period the taste continued to increase, and in the Byzantine literature finally obtained an ascendant in every class of imaginative composition. The romances of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Longus are, in fact, the epic poetry of that day; and their influence is observable on the compositions of a subsequent better period. On the construction of a new framework of society, by the blending of northern ferocity with the degenerate civilisation of the south, the prevailing taste, in the general corruption that ensued, maintained its ground; and has ever since formed one of the broadest features of distinction between the literature of modern and that of antient times.

Respective merits of the two.

16. The question as to the relative value of these opposite characteristics is one which the impartial critic feels both delicacy and difficulty in approaching. Too rigid an adherence to abstract principles would here be out of place. In literature as in morals the value of a custom may often depend as much or more on its adaptation to the genius of a people, than on its own intrinsic merit; and what is theoretically defective may claim not only indulgence, but approval, in the spirit of the age and state of society which produced it. Romantic love is the life and soul of the modern heroic Muse. It has animated the valour of her heroes, warmed the inspirations of her greatest minstrels, and produced an epic literature which may compete in variety and brilliancy, if not in purity and dignity, with that of classical Greece. So closely

is this element of poetical pathos interwoven with modern habits and sympathies, that a poem or a tragedy can hardly hope for success if amorous intrigue be excluded from the action. Even in subjects derived from real history, where this ingredient is wanting, the invention of the author must be taxed to supply the deficiency. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the more popular answer to the question above propounded would favour the romantic rather than the classical school of art. The critic, however, who takes up the question on impartial principles will reason as follows.

The proper objects for the higher exercise of imaginative genius are such as either by their own grandeur or beauty, or by the power of the moral impressions they convey, tend to exalt the mind and purify the affections. But those objects are not certainly alone or chiefly comprised within the narrow compass of lovers' desires, crosses, quarrels. A ready subjection to the fascinations of the inferior order of their species can hardly be a solid basis of renown for kings or heroes. Had the mighty conflict of passions in the breast of Achilles hinged on the cruelty of some Trojan Clorinda or Angelica, an Iliad could never have been the result. But the rules of the Homeric epopee as little as those of the modern romance authorised the banishment of so universal a passion as love from its sources of interest. There may, indeed, be traced, in the nice discrimination with which the Hellenes have adapted to the different modes of the affection their respective styles of composition, the most delicate perception both of its social and poetical value. The lyric and other minor departments of Greek poetry contain

amorous descriptions equal, at least, in tenderness and pathos to any in modern literature. But the influences of the passion celebrated by Sappho were different from those considered as honourable sources of heroic renown. These were the chaste and rational affection of a fondly devoted spouse, pining during long years of trial and affliction for the absent husband of her youth; the steady attachment, on his side, which neither time nor distance can impair, to the wife of his bosom; and which, amid all the vicissitudes of an eventful life, still points to his domestic hearth as the centre of his duties and pleasures. Such is the species of love which animates the page of Homer. Of that which has been preferred by Ariosto, Tasso, and the popular romantic school, little more can be said than that it is, as a general rule, unreasonable or senseless, too often licentious and degrading. A modern poet or romance writer may, without serious violation of the laws of his art, glorify his protagonist for supplanting a rival, or even a husband, in the affections of a lovely woman. But it would as little occur to him to make the celebrity of a hero hinge on the steadiness of his conjugal attachment, as to a man of pleasure to boast of the fondness of his wife as his chief claim to success with the fair sex. Nor can it be denied, that, in the modern school of chivalrous adventure, not only moral principle, but even martial virtue, is often matter of secondary importance, compared with the ardent impetuosity of voluptuous excitement. If, then, the constant love of Ulysses and Penelope, riveted by mutual confidence and esteem, or the touching scenes between Hector and Andromache, be compared with the orgies of Armida and

her host of reckless and debased admirers, none who consider purity of sentiment or dignity of conduct essential to the higher departments of poetry can hesitate to which of the two schools of art the preference is to be awarded.

Influence of Homer on posterity.

17. Any detailed inquiry into the influence exercised by Homer on the subsequent vicissitudes of elegant composition belongs less to the history of Grecian than of universal literature, and would involve a searching analysis of the text of all or most of the distinguished writers both of antient and modern times. The subject, however, can hardly, with propriety, be here altogether overlooked, and a few remarks will suffice to place its general bearings in a distinct point of view.

This influence may be considered in a twofold light: first, as emanating immediately from the poet's own works; secondly, as exercised through the medium of other popular authors, who have themselves borrowed directly or indirectly from his page.

The deference paid to Homer by his own immediate successors amounted to so close a spirit of imitation as to have caused the principal epic productions of the next ensuing age, amid the uncertainty which prevailed concerning their real authors, to be classed in popular usage as inferior productions of his own muse. The few preserved specimens of the poems ascribed to Hesiod also evince that such portions of them as partook of the heroic character bore much of the common stamp of Homeric imitation. A similar deference to the same great original is perceptible, within their more limited scope for its exercise, in the early lyric poets, Callinus, Archilochus, Tyrtæus, Alcman, Stesichorus. The

extent and beneficial results of the dialectical influence of the poems on the whole subsequent cultivation of the Greek language have already been illustrated.[1] The Iliad and Odyssey were also with reason esteemed by the antient critics, not only the source from which were derived the fundamental principles of the Attic drama, but in themselves the best models for the spirited conduct of debate or dialogue, and for that lively impersonation of character which constitutes the soul both of epic and dramatic composition.[2] Æschylus, accordingly, the father of the regular drama, describes his tragedies as but "fragments from the great banquet of Homer."[3]

Homer's influence is little less extensively exercised on the prose literature of Greece than on her poetry; though less palpably, and hence, in some respects, perhaps more beneficially, as involving, owing to the essential difference of the two styles, less risk or appearance of servile imitation. The whole plan of the work of Herodotus[4], and much in the details of his composition, show that it was by the study of the Iliad and Odyssey, as models of the unity of design and perspicuity of arrangement indispensable to the conduct of a great narrative, that he was enabled to advance the dry monotony of the chronicler or genealogist to the dignity of the historic Muse. By the orator[5], as by the historian and the dramatist, the poems were equally acknow-

[1] Supra, Vol. I. p. 116.

[2] Aristot. de Poetica, XXV. alibi; Plat. Rep. p. 595. 598., conf. 392. sq.; Theætet. p. 152. alibi; Quintil. x. i. 46.

[3] Athen. VIII. p. 347 B.

[4] Conf. Longin. de Subl. XIII. 3. (where read οὐ μόνος). Dion. Hal. Judic. de Plat. XII.

[5] Quintil. x. i. 46. sqq.

ledged to embody every standard rule, not only for the treatment of a great subject, but for the individual exercise of the rhetorical art in all its branches of declamation, address, or debate, in the senate, the council, or the law court.

Even in moral or didactic composition, Homer's presiding genius clearly displays itself in the frequency and the mode of the appeals made to his text by the most distinguished authors in those departments. As a general rule, popular poetry is quoted, on scientific subjects, solely or chiefly as a source of elegant illustration. With Homer the case was different. His authority, as the primary standard of national history and religious worship, was undisputed. The varied picture which he presents of human nature and character, the fine principles of elementary philosophy embodied in his text, and the rich treasure of pithy moral precept by which those principles are enforced, constituted his poems a national text-book of ethical science as well as of religious doctrine. Hence, in two curiously parallel passages, Homer is described, by one of the earliest of Greek philosophers[1], as "to all the primary source of all education;" and by one of the latest[2], as "the beginning, the middle, and the end, of all knowledge, to the young child, the grown man, and the grey beard." This maxim is perhaps most pointedly illustrated in the case of Plato, himself the Homer of Hellenic philosophy. His dialogues throughout bespeak a mind under the sway of a certain Homeric spell[3], which, he often repudiates and condemns, but in vain attempts to shake off. The Iliad and

[1] Xenophan. Colophon. ap. Drac. Strat. de Metris, p. 33.
[2] Dio Chrys. ed. 1604, p. 255.
[3] Quintil. x. i. 81.

Odyssey are every where present to his mind; they are the poles around which his own genius revolves, "the fountain-heads," as Longinus remarks[1], "from which, by an infinity of channels, his own purest streams of oratory are derived;" emphatically quoted and elucidated where favourable to his views, and anxiously but unwillingly[2] combated where they appear to militate against him. This deference extends from the sentiment to the phraseology, which in him, as in so many other popular authors, frequently assumes, altogether apart from direct citation, a tone and turn easily recognised as Homeric by the practised student of the poems.

In the literature of Rome the same deference to the Homeric standards is, perhaps, in individual cases, still more broadly marked than in that of the poet's native country, especially in the higher branches of epic composition. The first attempt to raise the standard of Roman national taste was a translation of the Odyssey.[3] Of the two most distinguished Latin epic poets, Ennius and Virgil, the former, considered the patriarch of elegant composition in Rome as Homer was in Greece, reverenced, almost worshipped, the Greek bard, as he himself informs us[4] and his remains abundantly testify, as the guardian genius which inspired and guided his own somewhat rude efforts to impart scope and dignity to the Italian muse. The Æneid, on the other hand, in its relation to the Iliad and Odyssey, offers notoriously the most signal known example of genuine

[1] De Subl. XIII. 3.

[2] De Rep. p. 595.; conf. Dion. Hal. Jud. de Plat. II.

[3] Behr. Gesch. d. Röm. Liter. vol. I. p. 120.; Dunlop, Hist. of Roman Lit. vol. I. p. 73.

[4] Ennii Frgg. Lips. 1825, p. 2. sqq.

excellence combined with the most servile spirit of imitation, extending from the plan and conduct of the whole work to the minutest details of expression and style.

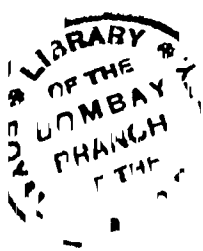
In the earlier stages of modern civilisation the rudiments of Greek literary culture were chiefly imparted at second-hand through the medium of Latin authors. The full amount, therefore, of the poet's sway on our own republic of letters must be estimated in the cumulate ratio of that of his own genius on Greece, of Greece on Rome, of Rome on modern Europe.[1] The direct influence, however, of Homer's muse is strikingly displayed from the first dawn[2] of a revival of taste for Greek literature, especially in the page of the two greatest modern masters of regular epic composition, Tasso and Milton.[3] Of the extent to which many

[1] See Dante, Inf. cant. I. 85. sqq.

[2] Of Trissino, the father of the modern classical school, see note to p. 10. supra.

[3] The servility with which Tasso, under the lash of the Crusca, copied the Iliad in his Gerusalemme riconquistata, a folly in which he himself gloried as his best claim to lasting renown, has caused the same imitative spirit, as displayed even in his great original work, to have been very much overlooked by the commentators. In Canto I. of "The Jerusalem," the vision of the angel to Godfred is a paraphrase of the dream of Agamemnon, forming like it the introduction to the Catalogue of forces, which in each poem immediately succeeds. In Canto VI. the details of the single combat between Tancred and Argante, its undecided issue, interruption by nightfall, and the interposition of the heralds, are all copied, often nearly to the letter, from the seventh book of the Iliad. Still more palpable is the imitation of B. IV. of the Iliad in Canto VII.; where, in the renewed combat between Argante and Raimondo, Belzebub acting the part of Minerva towards Orodino, who is charged with that of Pandarus, causes the treacherous violation of the truce and renewal of the general action. The copy extends even to the minute description of the bowshot, the divine protection vouchsafed to its object, and consequent slightness of the wound inflicted. Among minor examples compare Canto IX. stanza 75. with Il. VI. 506. The extent to which Milton has formed his style on the Iliad and Odyssey, or borrowed from their pages, cannot require to be pointed out to the English scholar.

popular modern poets unskilled in the Hellenic tongue were also indebted through some secondary medium to the father of Hellenic poetry, abundant proof would be supplied, by a calculation of the number of passages in their works which a Homeric scholar, unversed in the epic literature of Rome, would pronounce to be plagiarisms or paraphrases from the Iliad or Odyssey. Equally certain is it, that the Odyssey is the fountain-head from which a large portion of the more popular adventures or characters of the legendary poetry of our semibarbarous ancestors, the romance or fairy tale of the middle ages of Europe, by whatever variety of channels, are derived.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CHAP. XIX.

EPIC CYCLE AND CYCLIC POETS.

1. CYCLIC POETS IN THEIR RELATION TO HOMER AND HESIOD.—2. ORIGIN AND DEFINITION OF THE TERM EPIC CYCLE.—3. SCOPE AND LIMITS OF THE COMPILATION.—4. NUMBER OF POEMS ASCERTAINED AS CYCLIC.—5. TITANOMACHIA (EUMELUS, ARCTINUS).—6. EUROPIA (EUMELUS). ŒDIPODIA (CINÆTHON).—7. THEBAIS, OR EXPEDITION OF AMPHIARAUS.—8. EPIGONI. SACK OF ŒCHALIA OR HERACLEA (CREOPHILUS, CINÆTHON).—9. CYPRIA (STASINUS, HEGESIAS).—10. ÆTHIOPIS OR AMAZONIA (ARCTINUS). LITTLE ILIAD (THESTORIDES, LESCHES, CINÆTHON, DIODORUS). ILII-PERSIS (ARCTINUS).—11. NOSTI (AGIAS, EUMELUS). TELEGONIA (EUGAMMON, CINÆTHON).—12. EPITOME OF PROCLUS COLLATED WITH OTHER NOTICES OF THE CYCLE.—13. CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE POEMS. JUDGEMENT OF ARISTOTLE.—14. ITS APPLICATION TO THE INDIVIDUAL POEMS.—15. DETAILS OF THEIR STYLE AND EXECUTION. THEBAÏC SERIES.—16. TROÏC SERIES.—17. SPECIAL RELATION OF THE CYCLIC POETS TO HOMER.

Cyclic poets in their relation to Homer and Hesiod.

1. SETTING apart the Iliad and Odyssey as the most antient existing productions of the Greek heroic Muse, the remaining epic literature of this period may be classed under three general heads.

I. The poems of the Homeric school, comprising, in addition to those of the regular heroic order commonly called Cyclic Poems, a number of Epic Hymns, with other miscellaneous compositions chiefly of a humorous or satirical character.

II. The body of poems which passed generally current under the name of Hesiod, a name representing, like that of Homer, not merely an individual, but a class or school of poets, chiefly, it would seem, confined to Bœotia and the neighbouring districts of Central Greece. The works of this school embraced a great variety of subjects, historical and didactic, which were treated in epic style and measure, but in a comparatively brief or desultory manner, and with

little or no pretension to that unity of plan and execution which formed an essential property of the Homeric muse.

III. To the third head of Miscellaneous Epic Poems may be numbered all those not connected by their own style, or in the tradition of the period, with the school of either Homer or Hesiod.

The acknowledged title of Hesiod, or the author of the one or two more antient works which pass current under that name, to rank among Greek poets next, if not equal, in antiquity to Homer, may seem to entitle him to at least the second place in the order of historical inquiry. A sufficient apology for withholding this privilege will be found in the peculiar nature of the connexion between the Iliad and Odyssey and the poems of the Homeric school; a connexion which constitutes them in some measure different parts of the same subject, and of one too closely united in its integrity to admit of those parts being effectively treated in a separate form. A similar, if not equally close, relation exists between the leading productions of the Hesiodic school. The course, therefore, which obviously suggests itself as the most natural and convenient will be, to follow out each branch of inquiry in its integrity to its conclusion.

The present chapter will be devoted, accordingly, to the longer more properly epic poems of the Homeric school. The hymns and miscellaneous poems will be reserved for separate treatment.

In an early chapter of this work it was remarked, that, from the remotest period at which historical light gleams on the poetical literature of Greece, a number of epic poems, besides the Iliad and Odyssey, passed current, in popular usage, under the name of

Homer. The first exercise of the critical art, in the more advanced stages of literary culture, was to set apart two among these works as the sole productions of the one great original genius, while the remainder were ranked under other names or left anonymous, as the case might happen. This whole body of poetry, as emanating from the same primary fountain-head of epic art, has obtained, accordingly, the distinctive title of Homeric, and the authors of its secondary works that of Homeridæ, sons or descendants of Homer. The principal seat of the school was the Hellenic coast of Asia Minor with the adjacent islands, partly owing to the poet being himself a native of that region, partly to the greater zeal of the Asiatic, especially the Ionian, states, in the cultivation of the elegant arts. It is, however, worthy of remark, that, of those recorded by name as authors of Homeric poems, a large proportion were natives of entirely different parts of the Hellenic world. Such were Eumelus of Corinth, Agias of Trœzen, Cinæthon of Lacedæmon, Stasinus of Cyprus, Eugammon of Cyrene. This fact obviously forms in itself an almost conclusive argument against the modern theory as to the late period at which the two great works of the original Homer, which formed the acknowledged prototypes and models of all the others, were known or promulgated in European Greece.

Of the precise age, character, or country of many of these poets little more is accurately known than of the corresponding particulars in the history of their great master. The names of several of them appear under a mythical disguise similar to that which envelopes the name of "Homer;" being mixed up in the relation of kinsman, friend, or otherwise,

with the vicissitudes of his fabulous history. In some cases, the legend appears to shadow forth, figuratively, the indirect influence of his genius in producing the inferior works of his school through secondary organs inspired by the study of his poems. Creophilus, for example, who in one of the popular accounts marries the poet's daughter, receives from him, as her dowry, the manuscript of the Sack of Œchalia. Whether this Creophilus be a historical personage, or, as is more probable, a mere fabulous eponyme of a Samian school of rhapsodists who flourished in later times under the name of Creophylians, it were fruitless to inquire.[1] The above tradition may at least reasonably be interpreted to the effect that he, or the author of the poem whoever he may have been, was considered to have inherited the talent which produced it, and, in so far, the work itself, from the author of the Iliad. Another similar case is that of Thestorides, who purloins the Little Iliad, and passes it off as his own. Others of the Homeridæ have, however, a more distinct historical character, as will be seen when treating in detail of themselves and their works.

Origin and definition of the term Epic Cycle.

2. When collected and arranged in later times, this body of poems, of which, unfortunately, but few fragments remain, was found, inclusive of the Iliad and Odyssey, to comprise a more or less continuous series or Cycle of epic history, concentrated around those two works. That series, as defined by Proclus[2], an antient critic of good authority, extended "from the origin of Earth and Heaven, through the history of gods and men, down

[1] See supra, Ch. xviii. § 2. note.

[2] Ap. Gaisf. Heph. p. 340. sq.; conf. Welck. Ep. C. p. 3. sqq.

to the death of Ulysses;" to the period, that is, immediately preceding the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus, which terminates the mythical or heroic age of Greece. It obtained, accordingly, the collective name of Epic Cycle, and the authors of the separate works that of Cyclic poets.[1] The term Cycle, literally circle, was habitually used in the scientific Greek vocabulary in a variety of senses, all, however, referable to the same fundamental analogy of the geometrical figure to which it primarily attaches. That figure may be defined, a line drawn from a certain point, at an equal distance from another point or centre, until it returns to the point from which it started. The most familiar metaphorical adaptation of the phrase is to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, whose motions, after a long periodical course, actually do bring them back to the same apparent point whence they set out. By a certain latitude of analogy, however, any series of events hinging round a common centre or pivot was figured under the name of Cycle or circle. In this latter sense the term was applied to the Homeric poetry, with reference to the Iliad and Odyssey, as centre, both poetical and historical, of the series. The epoch of the first familiar application of the term in this sense is doubtful. It may, however, be presumed to date from the earliest period at which the Greek public became alive to any degree of continuity or comprehensiveness in the series, or to the intimate dependance of its members on the Iliad and Odyssey. That dependance is chiefly remarkable in

[1] On the general subject conf. F. Wüllner de Cycl. Ep. 1825; C. G. Müller de Cycl. Gr. Ep. 1829; Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 340. sqq.; Welcker, Homer u. der Ep. Cyclus, 1835.

the poems devoted to the Trojan war, the more immediate and proper subject of Homeric celebration, which were, in fact, concentrated around their two great prototypes, to all appearance intentionally, on the part of their authors. This fundamental portion of the series comprised so important a period of Greek heroic history, as readily to suggest the extension of the title to other works treating in the same Homeric style subjects of previous or subsequent fable. The Cycle, however, familiarly alluded to by the critics of later ages has been supposed, and with apparent reason, as will be seen in treating of the contents of the separate poems, to have been the result of a subsequent more methodical redaction of these original materials. This object was effected partly by a selection, from the whole body, of such as carried on the course of events in the most agreeable form and continuous order, partly by subjecting those so selected to alteration or curtailment, in order to avoid repetition, or secure a more easy transition from one head of subject to another. Of the epoch or author of this compilation no distinct notice has been preserved.[1] It has, however, been ascribed, by a distinguished modern commentator, on plausible grounds, to the Alexandrian grammarian Zenodotus, who, it is certain, undertook a collection and arrangement of the Homeric poems in the wider sense;

[1] No distinct allusion occurs to an epic "Cycle" prior to the Alexandrian æra. But as the phrase seems to have been applied at an earlier period to the popular prose cyclopædias of mythological lore, it may probably have been common to the poetical sources from which those repertories are compiled. The ambiguous tenor of the appeals by classical authorities to these and other "Cyclic" compilations of various kinds has been a source of some difficulty in the attempts to elucidate that here in question. See Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 42. sqq.

but it seems very doubtful whether this was the Digest of the Cycle above referred to.[1]

Scope and limits of the compilation.

3. The number and character of the works comprised in the collection have been, in the absence of any authentic catalogue, a subject of much difference of opinion; and there is scarcely an epic poem of respectable antiquity but has found a place in some one or other of the proposed lists.[2] This accumulation of Cyclic poems has been made on a two-fold misapprehension of the nature of the collection: first, as having formed a complete encyclopædia of fabulous history; secondly, as having been made up of materials promiscuously drawn from the whole early epic literature, without distinction of subject or style. The Cycle, however, it is certain, was never meant to form, nor consistently with that continuity of matter which is described as one of its characteristic properties[3] could it have formed, any such complete repertory of popular mythology. All the existing data on the subject, some of which are sufficiently precise, tend to establish that the Cycle followed the course of mythical history by a single Homeric line of route, overlooking, or at least but episodically touching on, such events as lay beyond that line. These notices are also practically borne out by the fact, that all the poems attested by good authority as having formed part of the collection are described as works either of Homer himself, or of poets immediately connected with his school. Not one of them

[1] Welcker, Ep. Cycl. p. 8. sqq.; conf. K. O. Müller in Zimmerm. Zeitschr. für Alterth. 1835, p. 1181.; Düntz. Hom. u. d. Ep. Cycl. p. 47. sqq. Of the claim recently advanced in favour of Pisistratus to be the original compiler, on the strength of a conjectural reading of the Plautine Scholion of Tzetzes, see Rheinisch. Mus. 1849, p. 135. sqq.

[2] Conf. Wülln. op. cit.; C. G. Müller, op. cit.; Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. 1. p. 340. sqq.

[3] Procl. ap. Gaisf. p. 341.

can be traced to Hesiod, or can otherwise claim an independant non-Homeric originality of authorship. That the Cycle was a more or less definitely circumscribed and limited body of poems also clearly results from the remark of Athenæus concerning Sophocles: "that he so greatly delighted in the Epic Cycle as to have borrowed whole dramas from its contents."[1] Had the Cycle formed a complete digest of the popular fable, this remark would obviously be pointless. There could hardly, in that case, have been room for selection, and the same might have been said of any other tragic writer.

Qualifications for admission.

The more essential qualifications, therefore, entitling to a place in the collection, seem to have been the two following. First, that the poem should bear some near relation to the Iliad and Odyssey. This relation might consist either in the subject having been episodically treated in their text; or in its forming an appropriate link in the series of mythical legend of which they formed the centre, and of which the other most important stage was occupied by the Thebaïs and Epigoni, the poems which, next to the Iliad and Odyssey, enjoyed the highest claim to Homeric honours. The second condition was, that the subject should be treated more or less in Homeric style; that it should, by consequence, present or aspire to a certain Homeric unity of action, distinct from the dry method of the Hesiodic or logographic schools of epic art, the productions of which were little more than metrical chronicles of events, or genealogies of heroes.

Of the more general statements on the subject, the

[1] Athen. VII. p. 277 B.; conf. Vit. Soph. (ed. Tauchn. p. 4. sq.), where "Homer" seems to be substituted for "the Cycle," with reference to this same characteristic feature of the muse of Sophocles.

subjoined, from an anonymous, but apparently critical, quarter[1], is the most pointed. "The Cyclic poets are those who treated, in a circle round the Iliad, the events of previous or subsequent history, as derived from, or connected with, Homer's own immediate subjects of celebration." The same essentially Homeric character of the collection is implied when the "Cycle," sometimes in its collective capacity, sometimes viewed by uncritical authors of a lower age as a single poem, is enumerated among the "works of Homer."[2] A like inference results from the description by Æschylus of his own dramas, most of which were founded on the poems of the Cycle, as "fragments from the great banquet of Homer."[3] Hence Horace defines the "Cyclic poet of old," with a sneer at his imitative spirit, as "one who sang the Trojan war."[4] The joint Theban and Trojan character of the collection is elegantly described by Lucretius, where, with evident allusion to the primitive poets of the regular epic order, or, in other words, the Cyclic poets, he asks:[5]

> Quur supra Bellum Thebanum et funera Trojæ
> Non alias aliei quoque res cecinere poetæ:

and Propertius, in a similar spirit of allusion, declares, even if gifted by the epic muse[6],

> Non ego Titanas canerem, ...
> Non veteres Thebas, nec Pergama nomen Homeri.

List of ascertained members of

4. The subjects, accordingly, of the individual poems which, by reference to any valid authority,

[1] Schol. ad Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 19.; ap. Welck. Ep. C. p. 32.
[2] Proclus ap. Gaisf. p. 468.; Philop. ad Aristot. Anal. post. I. 9.; Suid. v. Ὁμηρος.
[3] Ap. Athen. VIII. p. 347. E.
[4] De Art. Poet. 136.; conf. 146.
[5] v. 327.
[6] II. i. 19.

possess claims to a place in the series, appear to have been limited to the Trojan and Theban wars; with the more important collateral vicissitudes of Troïc or Bœotian history; and with such an amount of the earlier theological element of fable as was required to complete the entire course of mythical events specified by Proclus in his definition of the Cycle.[1] A list is here subjoined: Titanomachia, Europia, Œdipodia, Thebaïs, Epigoni, Œchalia, Cypria, (Iliad,) Æthiopis, Little Iliad, Ilii-persis, Nosti, (Odyssey,) Telegonia.[2] the collection.

The titles of these poems from the Cypria downwards, forming the part of the collection devoted to the Trojan war, have been preserved, together with a concise epitome of the contents of each, in the Chrestomathia of the same Proclus[3] to whom we owe the greater part of the more exact data on the subject. This portion of the list, therefore, may be considered as complete, in so far as representing the later grammatical redaction or adjustment of the series; for such, there can be little doubt, was the form in which the Cycle was familiar to Proclus. From other collateral notices, however, we are enabled, as will be seen in treating of the poems of the Troïc portion of the series, to supply the more serious deficiencies observable in his Epitome as compared with the original text of those works. The first or Theban part of the list, on the other hand, may appear but meagre to those who adopt the older more popular view of the widely comprehensive character of the collection. There is, however, no

[1] See supra, p. 251.

[2] See Appendix G.

[3] Ap. Gaisf. ad Heph. p. 471. sqq.; Clint. F. H. vol. i. p. 353. sqq.

hiatus between the different heads of subject even in that part of the list, but what might be amply made good by the usual Homeric plan of episodical enlargement or retrospective narrative. Other poems may possibly have been comprised besides those enumerated. The list, however, contains all that can be admitted on critical evidence, and must therefore remain for the present the sole authentic basis of future researches. The specific grounds of admission in each case will be explained in treating of the separate poems. In the theological element of the collection, it has commonly been assumed that a Theogonia and a Gigantomachia, as well as a Titanomachia, ought to have found a place. This view rests, partly on the general statement of Proclus that the Cycle comprehended the history of the gods from the nuptials of Uranus and Terra downwards; partly on the assumption, that, in a collection supposed to embody a complete system of heathen mythology, two such important heads of matter could not have been excluded. In the absence, however, of all distinct allusion to a Cyclic poem on either subject, it will be safer to acquiesce, as regards the Theogony, in the view of a distinguished modern critic[1], that this preliminary stage of mythical history, in so far as admitted at all, was incidentally treated in the Titanomachia. It seems very doubtful how far the genealogical, or properly Hesiodic, element of divine history could have fitly entered, in the form of principal subject, into the Homeric Cycle, the whole remaining materials of which were of the properly heroic order. The explanation, on the other hand, of the causes of the celestial contest, which could hardly

[1] Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 28. sqq.

have been wanting in the Titanomachia, afforded ample opening for the incidental introduction in its text of such genealogical notices as could with propriety have found place in its action. Accordingly, several of the extant fragments of the poem are devoted to such details. As to the supposed Cyclic Gigantomachia, no such adventure, in the grand cosmogonical form which it assumes in the later fable, or as distinct from the Titanomachia with which it is sometimes confounded, seems to have been recognised in Homer's mythology.

While in the popular usage of the lower period of antiquity the whole Cycle is ascribed in general terms to Homer, certain of its members, besides the Iliad and Odyssey, seem to have possessed a more special claim to Homeric origin and character. These were, the Thebaïs, Epigoni, Œchalia, Cypria, and Little Iliad. This may be partly a tribute to their superiority of Homeric style or merit, partly owing to the greater obscurity which involved the names of their real authors. Each of the three latter poems, however, was also provided in the tradition with its separate author, whose name seems alone to have entered into consideration where the origin or merits of its composition were brought under critical discussion. The Thebaïs and Epigoni remain anonymous, unless in so far as popularly ascribed to "Homer."

In the following more detailed notice of the individual poems, it is proposed to offer, in the first place, a concise abstract of the contents of each in succession, with a notice of its reputed author or authors. The merits or peculiarities of their composition will be reserved for illustration in a subsequent page.

TITANOMACHIA (Eumelus, Arctinus).

Titanomachia (Eumelus, Arctinus).

5. The Titanomachia is quoted by Athenæus as a Cyclic poem, and is variously assigned by him and other critics[1] to Eumelus of Corinth and Arctinus of Miletus. To the latter, the acknowledged author of the Æthiopis and Ilii-persis, attention will be directed in treating of those works. To Eumelus is further ascribed the Europia, the next poem of the series; and he enjoys a place among the accredited authors of the Nosti. He was also the author of various other works possessing no apparent pretension to a Homeric character. Pausanias[2] is of opinion that, in his own time, no epic poem of Eumelus was extant. If therefore, as there is no reason to doubt, this portion of the Cycle was preserved entire up to that period, the latter part of the second century, it follows that the same critic must have rejected the claim of Eumelus to the composition of the Titanomachia or of any other Cyclic poem. The only work ascribed to Eumelus still extant in the time of Pausanias, and the genuine character of which he admits, was the Prosodion or Processional Hymn to the Delian Apollo, composed for the Messenians on occasion of their solemn mission and sacrifice to that deity, and of which he quotes two lines in Æolo-Doric dialect. Upon internal grounds, chiefly from the parallel of that hymn, he is also inclined to consider this poet as author of the verses on the Chest of Cypselus.[3] These, with other non-Homeric compositions attributed to Eumelus, will form the subject of more special consideration in treating of the miscellaneous epic literature of this period.[4]

[1] Athen. vii. p. 277 d.; Schol. Apoll. Rh. i. 1165.
[2] iv. iv. 1., iv. xxxiii. 3., ii. i. [3] v. 19. [4] Infra, Ch. xxii. § 2.

Eumelus was of illustrious birth, son of Amphilytus, the chief of the distinguished Corinthian family of the Bacchiadæ [1], who then held sovereign sway in their native city. The highest date assigned to him by chronologers is 761 B. C. (Ol. IV. 4.), the lowest about 730 (Ol. XII.).[2] His composition of the Delian Prosodion connects his epoch with that of the first Messenian war, which commences in the received chronology about 743 B. C. As Arctinus, the rival claimant to the Titanomachia, belongs to the same or a still more remote period, the fact of the poem having been ascribed by respectable authorities to one or other of these authors, and never to any poet of more recent date, is good argument of its genuine antiquity.

The main subject of the Titanomachia, as the name implies, was the overthrow of the Saturnian dynasty by Jupiter, and the defeat and banishment to Tartarus of the elder branches of the royal family of heaven. That the episodes, however, or retrospective notices, embraced a wider range of cosmogonical history, may be inferred from the narrative of the events of the same war in the Theogony of Hesiod; admitting, as is probable, the general features of the tradition, as followed by each poet, to have corresponded. With Hesiod both the causes and vicissitudes of the contest stand in the closest poetical connexion with the previous course of divine history, from the dethronement of Uranus and Terra by their son Saturn, downwards. Several of the more prominent heroes of the war

[1] Paus. II. i. 1.

[2] Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 155. 161.; conf. Marckscheff. De Eumelo, p. 219. sqq.

were Saturn's elder brothers, who had been imprisoned in Tartarus by their father Uranus, retained in prison by Saturn, and released by their nephew Jupiter, to act as his allies in the struggle for their common emancipation from the Saturnian rule.[1] One of these Titans was Ægæon or Briareus, the same hundred-handed monster who in the Iliad[2] afterwards defends Jupiter against a conspiracy of his own family. Here was, therefore, an appropriate field for epic enlargement on the earlier vicissitudes of celestial history. The name of Ægæon accordingly occupies a prominent place in the few preserved passages of the Titanomachia.[3] He is there represented as a sea-god, son of Pontus and Terra, and as name-father, it would appear, of the Ægæan sea. Hence Homer, in the Iliad[4], describes the sea-goddess Thetis as the friend to whom Jove was indebted for the services of the invincible Titan. With Hesiod, on the other hand, Briareus is made son of Uranus and Terra, nor does he bear the additional name of Ægæon as with Homer. His connexion with the sea seems however to be indicated, though doubtfully, in the Theogony.[5] The divine genealogy of the Titanomachia differed also from that of Hesiod, in describing Uranus (the Heaven) as son, not of Terra (the Earth), but, with more propriety certainly, of Æther.[6] The few remaining verses of the poem, while marked by much of the primitive character to be expected from the age of

[1] Hes. Theog. 617. sqq.

[2] I. 402. In the Titanomachia, however, he seems to have sided with Saturn. Schol. Apoll Rh. I. 1165.

[3] Frg. v., Düntz.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] 817.; conf. Ovid. Met. II. 10.

[6] Frg. iv., Düntz.

Eumelus, are in an easy and agreeable epic style. The description, however, in one of these fragments, of Jupiter after his triumph, "dancing in the midst of the divine circle,"[1] does not afford a very high idea of the dignity with which the general subject was treated.

EUROPIA (Eumelus).

Europia (Eumelus).

6. The amour of Jove with the daughter of Phœnix, and its consequence, the settlement of Cadmus in Bœotia, may be presumed to have formed the main subject of this poem. While offering a compact bond of epic unity for the structure of a Homeric epopee, these are the first and most important transactions recorded in the terrestrial, as distinct from the purely theological, department of Greek heroic mythology. They afford, consequently, a most appropriate transition from the divine to the human class of adventure, in the same direct line of Theban history, which, in the Cyclic compilation, enjoys so marked a preeminence. Although, therefore, there is no direct testimony to the fact of the Europia having formed part of the Cycle, yet the circumstance of its only accredited author, Eumelus, being a reputed contributor to the compilation, added to the above points of internal evidence, constitutes at least a plausible title to a place.[2] Accordingly, the few extant citations or fragments[3] while

[1] Ap. Athen. i. p. 22.

[2] We are at a loss, therefore, to see why Welcker (Ep. Cycl. p. 40.) should have set aside the claim of this poem to a place in the Cycle, on the ground of its partaking in no degree of the heroic character. He adduces no evidence of this imputed deficiency; and neither authorities nor the remains of the poem tend to justify his opinion.

[3] Marcksch. op. cit. p. 403. gives the only ascertained remains of the poem.

proving the Bœotian tenor of the subject, also imply the author's deference to the fable of Homer. Amphion was described as the first human performer on the lyre, which instrument he had received as a present from its inventor Hermes. The magic powers of the hero's music in attracting the stones for the structure of his Theban metropolis[1] were also described. The affairs of Dionysus were introduced, more especially the assault of Lycurgus, son of Dryas, on the god, the details of which adventure were narrated precisely as in the Iliad.[2] Dionysus, with his attendant "nurses," was described as pursued with whips or ox-goads by the infuriated Thracian; as plunging terror-struck into the sea; and as hospitably received and entertained by Thetis in her marine dwelling; while Lycurgus, as in Homer, was struck blind for his impiety.

ŒDIPODIA (Cinæthon).

(Edipodia (Cinæthon).

This poem, as its name denotes, celebrated the next most remarkable epoch of Theban history, and by means of a moderate amount of retrospective episode would carry on the Cadmean chain of heroic adventure with a sufficient degree of epic continuity. Its further claim to a place in the collection rests partly on the circumstance of its reputed author, Cinæthon[3] of Lacedæmon[4], having been a Homeric poet of some celebrity, to whom were ascribed several other ascertained members of the collection; partly on the cor-

[1] Conf. Odyss. xi. 263.

[2] Il. vi. 130. sqq.

[3] In Tab. Borg. ap. Heeren in der Biblioth. der alt. Lit. u. Kunst, 1788, p. 43.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 32. sqq.; and Appendix G. to this volume.

[4] See Appendix H.

respondence between the version it preferred of the history of Œdipus, and that authorised by Homer.

Among the more celebrated chapters of Greek heroic fable, there are few which appear under a greater diversity of detail than that devoted to the calamitous history of the son of Laïus. The main particulars of his fate, as known to or recognised by Homer, have been concisely but distinctly narrated in the Odyssey, and in a supplementary passage of the Iliad.[1] In the Odyssey, among the heroines whose ghosts appear to Ulysses, is "the mother of Œdipus, the beautiful Epicasta, who was unwittingly involved in the grievous sin of espousing her own son, himself equally unconscious of their common crime, or of his own previous guilt as murderer of his father. But the gods forthwith brought their offence to light among men; when the heroine passed at once down to the realm of Hades, suspended by her own hand from a beam of her palace. But Œdipus, though tormented by the Furies of his mother, continued, for such was the stern will of the gods, to reign over the Cadmeans in Thebes, where he was honoured at his death[2] with sumptuous funeral rites."

The more popular Attic version of the fable differs widely from the Homeric legend. In the former the mother of Œdipus is called Jocasta, and the crime of herself and son, instead of being brought to light immediately after its commission, remains concealed until after the birth of four children, the fruit of the incestuous alliance. The remaining details of the same version, the reckless despair and self-inflicted

[1] Od. xi. 271.; Il. xxiii. 679.

[2] With Hesiod, also, Œdipus dies and is honourably interred at Thebes. Schol. Venet. ad Il. xxiii. 679.

blindness of the old king, his migration to Athens, his friendly reception by Theseus, and death in the sanctuary of the Athenian Eumenidæ, are not only repugnant to the mythology of Homer, but redolent in many of their details of the spirit of a lower age of mystical superstition. The whole or the greater part of them may, from internal evidence, safely be traced to the same source in which so many other innovations on the primitive mythology originate; the anxiety of the early Attic poets to secure their own country a place in the heroic mythology more worthy of her historical celebrity than that assigned her in the older national legends.

Scanty as are the remains of the Œdipodia, or the allusions of the antients to its contents, they yet suffice to prove that its tradition harmonised with that of Homer. That it recorded, like the Odyssey, the speedy and fatal termination of the incestuous alliance, appears from its having described the four children of Œdipus as offspring, not of Epicasta, but of Euryganea[1], another Theban heroine, whom he espoused after the death of his mother. As this tradition is also at variance with that which describes his deposition and expulsion from Thebes, we may safely assume that in the Œdipodia, as in the Iliad, he continued to enjoy his royal authority in his native metropolis to the day of his death. The same tradition was followed out, as will appear in the sequel, by the Thebaïs, the next and most illustrious member of the Bœotian subdivision of the Cycle. This version is also obviously in better keeping with the spirit of the age in which the legend had its origin, and of the Greek religion, than that preferred by

[1] Paus. IX. 5.; conf. Schol. ad Eurip. Phœn. 53.; Apollod. III. v. 8.

the Attic dramatists, where the sons of the incestuous marriage succeed to the throne of their deposed parent. National feeling would assuredly have turned from the issue of an impious crime with as great abhorrence as from its involuntary author; and the citizens who banished the father as a polluted object from his throne and country, would have been even less likely to submit to the sway of his incestuous offspring.

The fragments of the Œdipodia afford no sufficient data for judging of its mode of dealing with its highly poetical stock of materials, beyond the few particulars to which attention has just been directed.

THEBAÏS AND EPIGONI.

7. These two poems[1] have been allotted a place in the Cycle in every notice of its contents. The Thebaïs is the one among the secondary productions of the Homeric school which advances the earliest and strongest claim to genuine Homeric honours. The Epigoni, also, passed vulgarly current as a work of Homer, from a remote epoch, as appears from the doubt expressed by Herodotus of its real claim to that distinction.[2] There is this further peculiarity in the case of both these poems, among others enjoying a similar distinction, that, although nowhere in the more critical notices of the antients actually attributed to Homer, they are never, at least by extant authorities, connected with the name of any other poet. Thebaïs.

"The war of the Argives against Thebes," says Pausanias[3], "was the greatest ever waged between nations of Hellenic race, during what is called the

[1] See Leutsch, Theb. Cycl. Reliq.; Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 198. sqq.
[2] IV. 32. [3] IX. ix.

heroic age. The Argive army which marched into Bœotia from Peloponnesus comprised also the forces of the Arcadian and Messenian allies of king Adrastus; while the Thebans were assisted by the Phocians and Phlegyans. In the first battle, near the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, the Thebans were defeated, and took refuge within their city walls. The Argives attempted to take the town by storm, but, being little skilled in the art of siege, were thrown into disorder by the impetuous fury of their own assault, routed, and driven back. The Thebans in their turn resolved to act on the offensive, and, sallying forth, defeated and dispersed the hostile force. Adrastus alone among its leaders escaped alive. The Thebans themselves, however, suffered so severely in the conflict, and so fatal were the ultimate consequences of their triumph, as to have caused the phrase, 'Cadmean victory,' to pass into a proverb [1] for any temporary success involving the future ruin of those by whom it was achieved. Not many years afterwards the Epigoni, as the Hellenes call them, sons of the slain chiefs, invaded Bœotia with a still more powerful host, comprising, in addition to their former allies, the Corinthians and Megarians. The Thebans were again beaten in the first battle, and those who escaped again took refuge in the town, which was, however, this time taken and sacked by the Argives. This war is celebrated in the poem called Thebaïs, which Callinus and other good authorities have ascribed to Homer, and which is the best epic work, in my opinion, after the Iliad and Odyssey."

From this passage, collated with notices to a like

[1] Conf. Plato. de Legg. p. 641 c.

effect derived from other sources[1], it appears that the Thebaïs and Epigoni were often considered as one work, under the common title Thebaïs, with reference to the seat and object of the war in the wider sense. The first portion of the poem, describing the muster and march of the forces, also bore, in honour of one of the leading heroes, the separate title of Expedition of Amphiaraus, which by a similar synecdoche seems to have been occasionally extended to the whole work.[2] This peculiarity occurs, as will be seen, in the case of other poems of the Cycle, where the connexion between two heads of an extensive subject, each individually possessing sufficient scope and unity of action to form a separate epopee, was such as to admit of their being perused in one continuous narrative, like the separate members of a dramatic trilogy.

Expedition of Amphiaraus.

The Thebaïs, in the more restricted sense, is said to have comprised seven thousand lines.[3] The following, by reference to the fragments and other more authentic existing data[4], was the general outline of the action.

The undutiful and insulting conduct of Eteocles and Polynices towards their father Œdipus, during the latter years of his afflicted

[1] Schol. Apollon. Rh. I. 308.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 201. sqq. The author has not been convinced by Welcker's arguments (p. 209.) in support of the opinion that "Alcmæonis" was another title of the Epigoni. See infra, Ch. xxii. § 10.

[2] Hom. Vit. (Herod.) IX.; Suid. v. Ὅμηρος.

[3] Agon Hes. et Hom.; conf. Herman. Opusc. vol. VI. p. 286.; Ritschl, die Alex. Bibl. p. 101. Payne Knight (Prol. § 6.) and Welcker (Ep. C. p. 204.) interpret the notice of the Agon, with less probability, as alluding to seven books.

[4] Especially those supplied by Pindar and Pausanias, both of whom were readers and admirers of the poem, and appear to have given a marked preference to its authority in questions of legendary Bœotian history.

life, at length provokes him to pronounce his malediction against them. He had forbidden his meals to be served upon the table or with the eating utensils of his father Laïus, shunning the painful remembrance of the events which had caused their possession to devolve on himself. This injunction the young men in a spirit of wanton mockery disobeyed, when the indignant parent uttered the solemn curse, responded to by the guardian deities of the paternal rights: "that neither should enjoy his birthright in peace, but that their lives should be passed in perpetual strife and bloodshed."[1] The denunciation was repeated, in still more emphatic terms, and with equally dire effect, on another similar occasion, when, in the distribution of a sacrificial feast, the brothers, in the same spirit of mockery, allotted to their parent the knuckle, instead of the more honourable portion of the victim. He then supplicated "Jove and the celestial host that they might perish by each other's hands."[2]

After the death[3] of the old king, his sons quarrel for their share in the royal authority. It had been agreed that each should enjoy the supreme power for the period of a year, in alternate succession. Eteocles, at the expiry of his first year's reign, provoked by some aggressive measures on the part of Polynices, and backed by a strong popular feeling in his own favour[4], refused to resign the throne to his brother. Polynices, unable with his present resources to assert his privilege, retires from Thebes in search of foreign alliance, and fixes his residence at Argos. He there marries the daughter of king Adrastus, whom he persuades, together with his own brother-in-law, Tydeus, to espouse his quarrel. Accompanied by Tydeus he visits and secures the services of other Peloponnesian princes; though some of the more powerful hold back, forewarned by the gods of the disastrous issue of the expedition.[5]

Among these princes was Amphiaraus, one of the most celebrated heroes of his age, both as a warrior and a soothsayer.[6] On the first proposal of the expedition he foresaw its fatal issue. After vain attempts to dissuade his more rash and reckless fellow-chiefs,

[1] Frg. II. Düntz. (Leutsch, p. 38. sq.)

[2] Frg. III. (Leutsch, p. 39. sq.)

[3] Hom. Il. XXIII. 679.

[4] This is the popular account; corroborated, in some degree, by the figurative import of the names Ἐτεο-κλῆς and Πολυ-νείκης.

[5] Hom. Il. IV. 376. sqq. 409.; Pind. Nem. IX. 44.

[6] Pind. Ol. VI. 27. sqq.

he refused to take part, and concealed himself, to avoid their importunities. His absence shed a gloom over the prospects of the enterprise, which could only be dispelled by his accession and countenance. His wife, Eriphyle[1], bribed with a golden necklace by Polynices, discovers his hiding-place; when, moved by the entreaties of his friends, his own martial ardour, and the shame of alone standing aloof from what had now taken the form of a national undertaking, he consents. Aware, however, of the perfidy of his wife, he binds his two sons, Alcmæon and Amphilochus, then of tender age, in the event of his death, to avenge his fate on their treacherous mother, adding much sage advice as to their own future conduct in life.[2]

The army musters in the plain of Nemea, the Aulis of the Thebaïd.[3] The country being afflicted with drought, and the troops suffering from want of water, Hypsipyle nurse of Opheltes the infant son of Lycurgus king of Nemea, who happened to be taking the air with her charge in the neighbouring forest, conducts the chiefs to a fountain. During her absence, the babe, which she had deposited in a retired spot, is bitten by a serpent and dies. The warriors, sympathising with the distress of the parents, celebrate games in honour of the royal infant, whose fate, as the "commencement" of the ensuing series "of dire occurrences," obtained him the surname of Archemorus.[4] Amphiaraus avails himself of this inauspicious omen once more to warn his fellow-chiefs of the disastrous lot which awaited them, but once more in vain. On reaching the river Asopus, Tydeus is sent ambassador to Thebes, to claim restitution of the rights of Polynices, before commencing hostilities. The hero fails in his mission; but, finding the inhabitants engaged in public games, he enters the arena, and defeats every competitor.[5] The Cadmeans, inflamed with jealousy and anger, post an ambush of fifty men to destroy him on his

[1] Hom. Od. xi. 326., xv. 247.; Pind. Nem. ix. 37.

[2] Frg. Pind. Boeckh. p. 647. sqq.

[3] Here may have been introduced the Catalogue, after the precedent of the Iliad.

[4] There is no distinct evidence of this beautiful episode having been introduced in the Thebaïs. But the performance by the heroes of the Nemean games, with which it is connected, is vouched for by Pind. Nem. viii. in fin.; Paus. x. xxv., ii. xv.; conf. Propert. ap. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 202.; Apollod. iii. vi. 4.

[5] Hom. Il. iv. 383. sqq., v. 800. sqq.

return. But he kills the whole band, with the exception of one[1], spared to report the fate of his comrades to their employers. In the first engagement the Thebans are defeated and fly to the city, which is vigorously but unsuccessfully assaulted. Menœceus, son of Creon and nephew of Jocasta, offers himself up a voluntary sacrifice, in fulfilment of an edict of the Delphic oracle, which required the death of a prince of the royal blood to insure victory to the national arms;[2] In the sequel it is agreed to decide the quarrel by a single combat between the two brothers[3], who perish by each other's hand, as their father had foretold. A great battle ensues, in which the Argive army is defeated. During the rout the earth opens and swallows up Amphiaraus with his chariot; an honourable death conferred by Jupiter on his prophet, lest he should fall by the steel of a mortal warrior.[4] All his fellow-chiefs are slain, with the exception of Adrastus, who, after having found means during the night hurriedly to perform the obsequies of his comrades[5], escapes alone, by the swiftness of his horse Arion."[6]

The tradition of the Thebaïd seems, from the above details, to have corresponded, in whole or in part, with that of Homer and of the Œdipodia, both as to the mother of the sons of Œdipus, and as to the fate of their father after the discovery of his crime. The conspiracy of the two princes to torment or oppress the old king, while it shows that he continued, as with Homer, to reign at Thebes, instead of retiring to Athens, is also more consistent with their being the issue of a later lawful marriage, as in the Œdipodia, than of an incestuous connexion. A pair

[1] Il. iv. 392., x. 286.

[2] Paus. ix. xxv. 1.

[3] Paus. ix. v. 6.

[4] Pind. Ol. vi. 21., Nem. ix. 57.; conf. Od. xv. 247.

[5] Pind. Ol. vi. 23.

[6] Frg. ap. Paus. viii. xxv. 5.; conf. Il. xxiii. 347. From Pausanias (ii. xx. 4.) it would appear, that the poetical restriction of the number of heroes who fell to seven, though corresponding to the Homeric number of the city gates, was not recognised by the Thebaïs. The statement, however, by the same author, that Æschylus first gave prominence to that number, is belied by Pindar, Ol. vi. 23., Nem. ix. 56.

of unfeeling ambitious sons, on attaining man's estate, would thus, with equal inclination, have had better pretext for such conduct, than had they themselves been tainted with so dark a stain of unnatural pollution.

It seems further evident, even from the scanty notices preserved, that, at the period when the poem opens, Œdipus was still in ostensible enjoyment of the sovereign authority, and that a chief motive for the unnatural conduct of his sons was to hurry on his death, or coerce him into abdication of the throne. Of his blindness there is no trace. Both the general tenor of the narrative, and certain expressions in the extant fragments, imply that he was still in possession of his eyesight.[1] Of the legend preferred in the Thebaïs relative to his ultimate fate there is no distinct notice. But there seems no reason to doubt that in that poem, as in the Iliad, he was represented, although exposed to the undutiful treatment of his sons, as living and dying a sovereign, rather than as deposed and imprisoned by the rival princes, according to the conjecture of some modern commentators.

This poem was ascribed to "Homer" by the very antient poet Callinus[2], by Propertius, and by other popular authors of different ages, it may be presumed also in the popular sense[3]; for it was certainly not ascribed to the Homer of the Iliad and Odyssey by Aristotle, Aristarchus, or any other strictly critical authority.[4] How far it may have merited any such honour will be considered in a subsequent page.

[1] Frg. II. 5.

[2] Apud Paus. IX. ix. 3. [3] Conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 198. sqq.

[4] Elsewhere anonymous, or familiarly called the Cyclic Thebaïs. Leutsch, Theb. Rel. p. 3.; Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 205.

EPIGONI.

Epigoni.

8. The Epigoni, or second subdivision of the Thebaïd, comprising, like its predecessor, seven thousand lines [1], seems, in regard to the general outline of its action, to have been little more than a meagre counterpart of the previous adventure. There was this difference, however, that the divine favour, and with it the fortune of the war, had now turned on the side of the Argives, although inferior in numbers to their defeated ancestors.[2]

Adrastus, the surviving chief of the Thebaïs, instigates Alcmæon, Diomed, and other distinguished warriors [3], sons of the slain heroes, to revenge the death of their parents. Another army is collected, and invades Bœotia. The Thebans, again defeated in the first action, again shut themselves up in their city, which is besieged and taken.[4] Tisamenus, son of Polynices, is appointed king, as successor to his father. Adrastus dies of grief for the loss of his son Ægialeus [5], slain before his eyes, and the Argives return triumphant to Peloponnesus.

Into the details of the composition we possess little or no insight; and but a single fragment, the opening verse of the poem, has been preserved. Allusion occurred to the Hyperboreans [6]; to the dedication of Manto, daughter of Tiresias, at Delphi; and to her subsequent migration with the remains of her father to Colophon in Asia Minor.[7]

The interval of time between the main action of these two poems must have been considerable, the junior race of warriors being represented in the

[1] Agon Hes. et Hom. sup. cit.

[2] So Homer, Il. iv. 407.; but conf. Paus. ix. ix. 2.

[3] Il. loc. cit.; Od. xv. 248. Diomed, according to Homer (Il. v. 412.), had married a daughter of Adrastus; his own aunt, if other traditions may be trusted. Apollod. iii. vi. 1.

[4] Paus. ix. ix.

[5] Paus. i. xliii. 1.; conf. ix. v. 7.

[6] Herodot. iv. 32.

[7] Schol. Ap. Rh. i. 308.; conf. infra, § 11.

tradition as of tender age, by Homer as children[1], at the period of their fathers' death. Yet, as already remarked, both poems are occasionally classed by the antient critics as one. It may be presumed, therefore, that the connexion of events was maintained by episodes or retrospective allusions through the whole period. The poems of the Cycle hitherto examined thus present a single series of subjects, carried, in a single order of succession, from the origin of things to the close of the second Theban war. The commencement of the Cypria, the first poem of the ensuing Troïc series, also aptly takes up the close of the Epigoni. One might thus be tempted to assume, that the subjects comprised in the Cycle were limited to the Titanomachia, or divine element of heroic mythology, and to the Theban and Trojan wars in the stricter sense. This limitation seems also, in some degree, to be implied in the allusion of the antients formerly cited to the intimate connexion between these three branches of Cyclic history. In a matter, however, where so much must, at the best, remain doubtful, it will be preferable to abide by the principle above suggested, of admitting into the list every epic poem classed by trustworthy authorities as belonging to the Homeric school of heroic composition. To this plan it might perhaps be objected, that any such extension of the historical element of the collection would interfere with its fundamental principle of chronological continuity. But, although that principle would have been completely set aside by so great an accumulation of materials as some have proposed, the occurrence of partially collateral lines of narrative, of kindred tenor and conceived in the same common

[1] Il. VI. 222.

spirit of Homeric minstrelsy, might have varied in an agreeable manner, rather than tarnished, the historical symmetry of the compilation.

The only poem which, in following out this partial extension of the range of subjects, existing data warrant our interposing between the strictly Theban and the Troïc portion of the compilation, is

THE SACK OF ŒCHALIA (Creophilus, Cinæthon).

Sack of Œchalia (Creophilus, Cinæthon).

This work, also familiarly called the Œchalia, while involving but a slight, if any, interruption of the line of epic continuity, has the advantage of connecting the affairs of Hercules, the greatest of Theban heroes, with the Theban series of Cyclic narrative. The Œchalia is also, with the exception of the Thebaïs, the most celebrated Homeric poem unconnected with the Trojan war. The relation between the work and its author is figuratively defined in the legend, common to several other poems of the same class, of its having been composed by Homer, and presented by him to a friend, or son-in-law, who passed it off, in this instance with the sanction of the donor, as his own. The person thus honoured was the same Creophilus of Samos, of Chios, or of Ios, as variously reported, who acts so prominent a part in the popular biographies of the poet.[1] This frequently recurring text in those biographies is burlesqued, in his usual lively manner, by Lucian in his "True History." The satirist there describes himself as having, while on a visit to the other world, been presented by Homer with an epopee on a late war between the Blessed and

[1] Proclus ap. Gaisf. p. 466.; Strab. xiv. p. 638.; Cramer, Anecd. Oxon. vol. i. p. 327.; Callim. Ep. vi.; conf. Clint. F. H. p. 350. sqq.; note to Ch. xviii. § 2. supra.

the Damned, the latter of whom had succeeded in breaking out of their place of confinement.

This poem narrated the siege and destruction by Hercules of Œchalia, a mythical city frequently mentioned, together with the prowess and misfortunes of its royal family, in both the Iliad and Odyssey.[1] The work is also occasionally alluded to under the title of Heraclea[2]; and has hence been conjectured, with apparent reason, to be the same as the Heraclea attributed by some authorities to Cinæthon[3] of Lacedæmon, and which appears at least to have treated the same portion of the hero's adventures. As Cinæthon claims, conjointly with Creophilus, the authorship of the Little Iliad, it naturally suggests itself that their common pretensions may also have extended to the Œchalia. This more general title of Heraclea, with the tenor of some of the few extant notices of the contents of the poem, favours the view that, by means of episodes, it may have comprised a more or less ample summary of the Theban hero's life and adventures. The following seems to have been the outline of the principal action.[4] Heraclea

Eurytus, king of Œchalia, the most celebrated bowman of his day, had challenged all Greece to a trial of skill in his favourite art, and promised his daughter Iole in marriage to the first successful competitor. Hercules came off victorious, but was

[1] Homer knows but one Œchalia, in Thessaly. Il. II. 730. With this passage those of Il. II. 596., Od. VIII. 224. XXI. 14., are quite in harmony, though often erroneously supposed to allude to a Messenian city of the same name. Pausanias (IV. ii. 2.) implies that the Œchalia of the Cyclic poem was situated in Eubœa.

[2] Paus. IV. ii. 2.

[3] Schol. Ap. Rh. I. 1357.

[4] The single extant fragment is cited by Düntz. p. 9. For the best collection of notices, see Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 350.

refused the stipulated prize. In revenge of the insult and breach of faith, he besieges and sacks the city, and carries off Iole. As this was the last exploit of Hercules, being immediately followed by his death on Mount Œta, and as that catastrophe was a consequence of Dejanira's jealousy of the captive princess Iole, it becomes the more probable that the closing scenes of the hero's life were comprehended in the action of the poem.

The natural place for the Œchalia in the Cycle, upon the principle of exact continuity, and in accordance with the more accredited fabulous chronology, would be between the Thebaïs and Epigoni, in the interval between the first and second Theban wars. The epochs, however, of the second war and of the siege of Œchalia so nearly coincide in the mythical chronology, that, in any more methodical adjustment of the members of the series, it was perhaps as likely that the compiler would sacrifice the historical to the poetical order of continuity, and bring the Theban section of his materials to a close before passing on to the Heraclea.

Troïc series.

9. For the illustration of the ensuing most important division of the Cycle, celebrating the Trojan war and its consequences, we possess, as already stated, a valuable and specific guide in the Epitome of the grammarian Proclus. That Epitome, however, as also above remarked, appears to represent the later artificial adjustment of the poems, in which they had been subjected to partial retrenchments, and possibly alterations. It offers, consequently, several gaps or deficiencies, as collated with the notices derived from other earlier authorities. The mode of treatment here adopted will therefore be to

constitute the abstract of each poem, as given by Proclus, the basis of the following summary of its probable contents, adding the substance of such quotations of its text by other authorities as accord with that abstract, and reserving such as differ for future consideration.[1]

CYPRIA (Stasinus, Hegesias).

Cypria (Stasinus, Hegesias).

A conference is held between Jupiter and Themis relative to the Trojan war, which, it is decreed, shall take place, in order to relieve Earth of the superabundant population under which she groaned.[2] The Goddess of Strife is sent to sow discord among the deities assembled at the nuptial feast of Peleus and Thetis[3], the solemnities of which are described. Juno, Minerva, and Venus compete for the palm of beauty. The dispute is carried for arbitration before Paris[4], who, bribed by Venus with the proffered possession of Helen[5], gives the award in favour of the Cyprian goddess. Helen is described as daughter of Jupiter and Nemesis; and the amour to which she owed her birth is detailed at some length.[6] Paris, on the suggestion of Venus, prepares for his voyage to Sparta, and she persuades her son Æneas to accompany him. His brother Helenus and sister Cassandra predict the fatal consequences of the enterprise. He is hospitably received at Lacedæmon by Menelaus and the Tyndaridæ, and ingratiates himself with Helen by precious gifts. Menelaus sails for Crete, recommending his guest to the courteous treatment of his queen during his absence. With the aid of Venus, Paris effects the seduction of his hostess, and she embarks with him for Troy, carrying off her most valuable effects.[7] Driven from their direct course by a storm, they arrive at Sidon, which city Paris assaults and takes. On his subsequent arrival at Troy, he espouses his mistress. In the meanwhile, her brothers,

[1] Reference will also be made here, as before, to the parallel passages of the Il. and Od.; the better to illustrate the concentration of the Cycle around those poems.

[2] Frg. I. Düntz. [3] Il. XVIII. 432.

[4] Il. XXIV. 29.; conf. IV. 26, v. 715. [5] Il. III. 400. sqq.

[6] Frg. V. For the mode in which Helen is supposed, in this version of the fable, to have become the reputed daughter of Leda, see Bode, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 369.

[7] Il. VII. 350. 363.

the Tyndaridæ, are detected plundering the cattle of Idas and Lynceus, neighbouring chiefs of Peloponnesus. The twin heroes take refuge in the hollow trunk of an oak, where they are discovered by Lynceus, and Castor is slain.[1] But Lynceus and his brother Idas fall in their turn by the hand of Pollux, who shares his immortality with Castor.[2] Iris announces to Menelaus the elopement of his wife. He holds council with Nestor and Agamemnon, after which he sets out with Nestor on a progress through Greece to collect allies among its chiefs.[3] The feigned madness of Ulysses is detected by Palamedes.

The armament musters at Aulis. Calchas interprets the omen of the snake and sparrows.[4] Crossing the Ægæan, the Greeks attack and destroy the Mysian city of Teuthrania, mistaking it for Troy. Telephus, coming to the assistance of the town, kills the Theban prince Thersander, son of Polynices[5], and is himself wounded by Achilles. The fleet then sailing from Mysia is dispersed by a storm. Achilles, landing on the isle of Scyros[6], marries Deïdamia, daughter of Lycomedes, who bears him a son called Pyrrhus, afterwards surnamed Neoptolemus. Telephus, in obedience to an oracle, solicits and receives a remedy for his wound from Achilles, by whom he is retained as guide to a second attempt on the Troad.

The fleet again assembles at Aulis. Agamemnon on a hunting party, elated by an expert shot at a deer, boasts that he surpasses Diana herself in her own art. As a punishment for his impiety, the goddess detains the fleet windbound. Calchas pronounces that she can only be appeased by the sacrifice of Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon.[7] The princess is accordingly brought from Mycenæ, under pretext of betrothal to Achilles. Diana, at the moment when the fire is lighted, snatching her from the altar, and substituting a fawn in her stead, transports her to Tauris, and confers on her the gift of immortality.

The fleet then sails for Tenedos, touching at Lemnos, where Philoctetes[8] is bitten by a snake, and left behind, owing to the stench of his wound. Coldness arises between Agamemnon and Achilles. The Trojans resist the landing of the force. Protesilaus[9] is slain by Hector, but the Trojan army is routed by Achilles. The Greeks, after vain negotiation for the recovery of

[1] Frg. VIII.; conf. Il. III. 243.
[2] Frg. IV.; conf. Od. XI. 303.
[3] Il. XI. 769.; Od. XXIV. 116.
[4] Il. II. 311. sqq.
[5] Paus. IX. v. 8.
[6] Il. IX. 668. alibi; Od. XI. 509.
[7] Frg. XI.
[8] Il. II. 721.
[9] Frg. XIV.; Il. II. 701.

Helen[1], invest the city, and ravage the surrounding country. Achilles conceives a desire to see Helen, which is gratified through the agency of Venus and Thetis. The Greeks, longing to return home, are restrained by Achilles, who captures the oxen of Æneas[2], sacks Lyrnessus, Pedasus, and other neighbouring cities[3], kills Troilus[4], captures Lycaon, and sells him as a slave in Lemnos.[5] Briseïs, taken by Achilles in the sack of Pedasus[6], is allotted to him as his own share of the conquered spoils; Chryseïs to Agamemnon.[7] Palamedes, while fishing in the sea, is treacherously drowned by Ulysses and Diomed.[8] Jove resolves on affording present relief to the Trojans, by detaching Achilles from the cause of his countrymen. The poem concludes with a catalogue of the Trojan forces.

The Cypria is described in the popular legend as an original production of Homer[9] bestowed by him as a marriage dowry with his daughter's hand on a Cyprian friend, called in the more accredited accounts Stasinus, by others Hegesias.[10] The Halicarnassians, also, claimed the author of the work as their fellow-citizen. An equal obscurity attaches to the title Cypria. Those who ascribed the poem to a native of Cyprus derived its name from that island. By others it was supposed to have been conferred in honour of the Cyprian goddess, as the chief mover of the action. Perhaps both views might be reconciled by assuming a Cyprian poet to have preferred a subject tending to the glory of his native deity. That the Homeric poetry was popular in the island from an early period in her festivals, may be inferred from various fragments of hymns in the Homeric

[1] Il. III. 205., XI. 139. [2] Il. XX. 90.
[3] Il. II. 690. sqq., IX. 328.; Od. III. 106. [4] Il. XXIV. 257.
[5] Il. XXI. 35. [6] Frg. XV. [7] Il. I. passim.
[8] Frgg. XVI. XVII. XVIII. This part or rhapsody of the poem appears to have borne the special title of Palamedia. Düntz. p. 15.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 459.
[9] Frg. Pind. Boeck. p. 654. [10] Welck. p. 300. sqq.

collection.[1] The Cypria comprised eleven books[2]; the number of lines is not recorded.

THE ILIAD.

THE ÆTHIOPIS (Arctinus).

Æthiopis (Arctinus).

10. The Amazon Penthesilea, arriving in aid of Priam, is slain by Achilles, and honoured with a public burial by the Trojans. Thersites, taunting Achilles with impure love towards the deceased heroine, is killed by that hero. His death causes dissensions in the camp. Achilles sails to Lemnos, and, after sacrificing to Apollo, Artemis, and Latona, is purified of the blood-stain by Ulysses. Memnon next arrives to the succour of the besieged city, armed in a panoply, the gift of Vulcan. Thetis foretells the influence of the Æthiopian hero's presence on the war. Memnon slays Antilochus[3], whose death Achilles revenges by that of his destroyer. The Æthiopian hero receives the boon of immortality from his mother Aurora.

Achilles, entering the gate of Troy, in pursuit of the flying enemy, is slain by the joint agency of Paris and Apollo.[4] A contest ensues for his body, which is borne off the field by Ajax, while Ulysses stems the advance of the Trojans.[5] The funeral rites of Antilochus are solemnised, and the corpse of Achilles is laid out, preparatory to the same honours being conferred upon him, when Thetis and the Nereids perform his funeral dirge.[6] Thetis then transports his body to the island of Leuka. The Greeks raise a tumulus, and celebrate games in his honour. In the course of the solemnity strife arises between Ulysses and Ajax concerning the deceased hero's arms.

The Æthiopis, in five books[7], was the undisputed composition of Arctinus, son of Teles of Miletus, a reputed "disciple" of Homer[8], and the same who, with Eumelus, also shares the credit of the Titanomachia. The epoch of Arctinus is placed almost unanimously

[1] Conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 302. sqq. [2] Procl. Epit.
[3] Od. iv. 187., iii. 112. [4] Il. xxii. 359. [5] Od. v. 309. sq.
[6] Od. xxiv. 58. [7] Procl. in Epit.
[8] Artem. ap. Suid. in v. Ἄρκτ.; conf. Clint. F. H. ad 775 B.C.; Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 211.

by the chronologers about the commencement of the Olympic era 775—761. He was accordingly held, by competent authorities[1], to be the most antient poet of whose historical existence any distinct trace could be recognised.

Among the epic poems attributed by Suidas[2], and by Suidas alone, to Homer is an Amazonia. This notice is unaccompanied by any comment, nor does allusion occur elsewhere to a poem of the name. Concerning its subject, therefore, nothing more can be gathered from this single authority than that it was, what the title implies, a War or Enterprise of the Amazons. Five such adventures are celebrated in the heroic age: first, the Expedition of Hercules against Hippolyta; secondly, the defeat of the heroines by Bellerophon[3]; thirdly, their invasion of Attica, and their defeat by Theseus; fourthly, their invasion of Phrygia, and defeat by Priam and his allies[4]; fifthly, the succour afforded by them to the same Priam under their queen Penthesilea, as described in the first part of the Æthiopis. That the latter adventure is the one treated in the Homeric Amazonia of Suidas; that "Amazonia" is, in fact, with that author, but another title of the Æthiopis, there can be no reasonable doubt. As in the same catalogue of Homeric poems Suidas designates the Thebaïs, by reference to the first part of its action, the Expedition of Amphiaraus, by a similar synecdoche he entitles the Æthiopis Amazonia. And this view is confirmed by the circumstance, otherwise not easily accounted for, that, while the Æthiopis, one of the most celebrated poems of the Troïc series, is, under its own ordinary title, omitted by Suidas, its

Amazonia.

[1] Dion. Hal. I. 68. [2] v. Ὅμηρος. [3] Il. VI. 186. [4] Il. III. 189.

proper place in the list, between the Iliad and Little Iliad, is precisely that assigned by the same compiler to the Amazonia.[1]

THE LITTLE ILIAD

(Lesches, Thestorides, Cinæthon, Diodorus).

Little Iliad (Lesches, Thestorides, Cinæthon, Diodorus).

The competition between Ulysses and Ajax for the armour of Achilles is decided in favour of Ulysses[2] by the award of the Trojan women, to whose judgement, by Nestor's advice, it had been referred, and who are overheard, while conversing on the wall of the city, ascribing the highest honours to the Ithacan warrior in the late contest for the deceased hero's body. The duty performed by him, of stemming the adverse tide of battle in the rear, is pronounced by them more noble than that undertaken by Ajax of bearing off the corpse.[3] Ajax, in the phrenzy of his disappointment, vents his fury on the cattle of the army, which he mistakes for its warriors, and then destroys himself.[4]

Ulysses captures Helenus the Trojan seer. In accordance with a prophetic announcement of the latter hero relative to the future fate of the city, Diomed transports Philoctetes[5] from Lemnos to the camp, where he is healed of his snake-bite by Machaon. Paris is slain by Philoctetes. His body is contumeliously treated by Menelaus, but the Trojans, in the sequel, obtain possession of it, and perform its funeral obsequies. Deïphobus[6], son of Priam, espouses Helen. Ulysses transports Neoptolemus from Scyros[7] to Troy, and delivers over to him his father's arms. Achilles appears in a vision to his son. Eurypylus, son of Telephus, arrives as ally of the Trojans, and, after killing Machaon the physician, and other valorous exploits, is slain by Neoptolemus.[8]

The Trojans are again blockaded in the city, when Epeüs, instigated by Minerva, constructs the wooden horse.[9] Ulysses, in mean disguise, enters Troy as a spy. Recognised by Helen, he consults with her as to the capture of the city[10], and, after dispatching several Trojan warriors, returns in safety to the camp.

[1] See infra, Ch. xxii. § 9.
[2] Od. xi. 545. sqq.
[3] Frg. ii.; conf. Od. v. 310.
[4] Od. iii. 109., xi. 549. 556. sqq.
[5] Il. ii. 724.
[6] Od. iv. 276., viii. 517.
[7] Frg. iv.; Od. xi. 509.
[8] Frg. v.; Od. xi. 519.
[9] Od. viii. 492., iv. 272., xi. 523.
[10] Od. iv. 242. sqq.

In the sequel, the same hero, accompanied by Diomed, carries off the Palladium[1] from Ilium. The Greeks now garrison the horse with their best warriors, burn their tents, and retire to Tenedos, feigning an abandonment of the siege. The Trojans, deceived by the stratagem, admit the horse into the city, and institute festivities in honour of their deliverance.[2]

The above epitome, in four books, embraces, as will be seen hereafter, but a part of this poem as known to Aristotle.[3] The work was reported in the popular legend to have been composed by Homer, together with another entitled Phocaïs[4], at Phocæa in Ionia, for his host Thestorides of that town, who afterwards passed it off as his own. The more commonly reputed author was Lesches, or Lescheos, son of Æschylenus of Pyrrha, in the isle of Lesbos.[5] By some it was ascribed to Cinæthon of Lacedæmon[6], already mentioned as one of the reputed authors of the Œdipodia and Œchalia; by others, to Diodorus of Erythræ. Lesches, according to the more accredited accounts, flourished in the first half of the 7th century. Of Diodorus or his age no specific notice is preserved.

ILII-PERSIS (Arctinus).

Ilii-persis (Arctinus).

The Trojans deliberate on the disposal of the wooden horse, some wishing to destroy it, while others would consecrate it as a trophy to Minerva. The latter counsel prevails, and, during the subsequent rejoicings in honour of the national de-

[1] Frg. xi. [2] Od. viii. 500. sqq.

[3] The Little Iliad, while habitually distinguished by its proper epithet from "the Iliad," seems yet to have been sometimes familiarly quoted under the same general title. See Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 132. sq.

[4] Vit. Hom. Herod. 16.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 251., and infra Ch. xx. § 17.;

[5] Procl. in Epit.; Tabula Iliaca ap. C. G. Müller de Cycl. Gr. Ep. p. 188.; conf. Clint. F. H. an. 657. According to a reading of a passage of Plutarch's Conv. Sept. Sap., Lesches took part in the fabulous competition of poets at Aulis, where Hesiod conquered Homer (Welck. p. 269.).

[6] Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 241. sq.

liverance, Laocoon, by whom that counsel had been opposed, is destroyed, with one of his sons, by two monstrous serpents. Æneas, alarmed by the omen, retires with his followers into Mount Ida.[1] Sinon lights the beacon, announcing to his countrymen the success of their stratagem. The Greek warriors, issuing from their ambush, open the gates to their comrades, and, after a bloody combat, obtain possession of the city. Priam, seeking refuge at the altar of Jupiter Herceus, is slain by Neoptolemus. Menelaus kills Deïphobus, and carries off Helen to the fleet. Ajax Oïleus, dragging Cassandra from the sanctuary of Minervâ[2], overturns the statue of that deity. The Greeks, indignant at the sacrilege, are about to stone its author, who saves himself by flight to the altar of the goddess.

Ulysses kills Astyanax, and Neoptolemus secures Andromache as his captive.[3] Æthra[4], the mother of Theseus and slave of Helen, is delivered over by Agamemnon to her grandsons Demophon and Acamas. The Greeks set fire to the city, and sacrifice Polyxena on the tomb of Achilles. Minerva, offended at the late pollution of her sanctuary, prepares disasters for them on their voyage home.

Arctinus, the poet of the Æthiopis, also enjoys an exclusive title to the authorship of this poem.[5] Its action, comprising two books according to the Epitome, is identical in substance with that of the Lay of the Trojan Horse, sung by Demodocus in the Odyssey.[6]

NOSTI (Agias, Eumelus).

Nosti (Agias, Eumelus).

11. Minerva promotes a strife between Agamemnon and Menelaus[7] concerning the course of the voyage home. Agamemnon remains behind to propitiate the displeasure of the goddess, while Diomed, Nestor, and Menelaus embark.[8] The fleet of Menelaus is shattered by a storm, and with five ships, which alone escape its fury, he visits Egypt.[9] Calchas, Leontes, and Polypœtes, with their

[1] Il. xx. 307.
[2] Od. iii. 135. 145., iv. 499. sqq.
[3] Il. vi. 454. sqq.
[4] Frg. iv.; Il. iii. 144.
[5] Proclus in Epit.; Tab. Iliaca; Dion. Hal. i. 69.; Clint. F. H. an. 775.
[6] viii. 500. sqq.
[7] Od. iii. 135.; conf. i. 327.
[8] Od. iii. 141. sqq.
[9] Od. iii. 286. sqq., iv. 351. sqq.

followers, proceed by land to Colophon, where they perform funeral solemnities in honour of the Theban seer Tiresias.[1]

As Agamemnon is about to set sail with his division, the shade of Achilles appears and predicts the disasters of the voyage. A storm assails the fleet at the Capheridan rocks, where the Locrian Ajax perishes.[2] Neoptolemus, by advice of Thetis, proceeds to Phthia by land, across the Thracian continent, and at Maronea of the Ciconians[3] meets Ulysses. On reaching home, he performs the obsequies of Phœnix, and afterwards journeys to Molossia, where he is received and recognised by his grandfather Peleus. Agamemnon is slain by Ægisthus and Clytemnestra.[4] Orestes[5] and Pylades avenge his death. Menelaus returns and resettles peacefully at Lacedæmon.

That poems celebrating the Nosti, or "Return of the Greeks," already existed in Homer's time, appears from the lay bearing that title, sung by the Ithacan bard, Phemius, in the Odyssey.[6]

There can be no doubt that the Cyclic Nosti is the same poem cited by Athenæus under the title of "Return of the Atridæ." Its reputed epoch fluctuates, like that of most other members of the collection, within the first century of the Olympic æra. The author with whose name, setting aside the conventional claims of Homer[7], the work was most generally coupled was Agias of Trœzene, a poet of uncertain date.[8] It was also, more doubtfully, assigned to Eumelus of Corinth; and, by some, to an anonymous poet of Colophon.[9] It contained allusions to scenes or adventures in Hades, in connexion, it may be presumed, with the funeral rites of Tiresias. The version given of the punishment of Tantalus differed from

[1] Conf. supra, § 8.
[2] Od. iv. 499.
[3] Od. ix. 39.
[4] Od. iii. 194. sqq., alibi.
[5] Od. iii. 306. alibi; conf. Suid. v. Νόστος.
[6] Od. i. 326.
[7] Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 274.
[8] Procl. Epit.; conf. Paus. i. ii. 1.; Welck. Ep. C. p. 278.
[9] Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 273.

that preferred by Homer, in describing the famishing voluptuary as debarred from the enjoyment of the dainties exposed to his view, by an enormous stone suspended over his head.[1] Allusion was made to the future marriages of Telemachus to Circe, and of Telegonus, son of Ulysses by Circe, to Penelope.[2] The history of Medea was also incidentally treated, with the magic effects of her caldron upon Æson.[3] The poem was divided into five books.[4] But a few unimportant lines have been preserved.[5]

THE ODYSSEY.

THE TELEGONIA (Eugammon, Cinæthon).

Telegonia (Eugammon, Cinæthon).

The obsequies of the suitors are performed by their friends. Ulysses, after sacrificing to the nymphs[6], sails to Elis, to visit his herds on that coast, where he is entertained by Polyxenus.[7] He then travels to examine the celebrated works of Trophonius, Agamedes, and Augeas, and, returning to Ithaca, solemnises the rites enjoined by Tiresias in his interview with that seer in Hades.[8] He next crosses into Thesprotia[9], where he marries Callidice, queen of that country, and takes the command of her troops in a war against the Bryges. His army is put to flight by Mars, who engages in single combat with Minerva; but the rival deities are parted by Apollo. Upon the death of Callidice, Polypœtes, her son by Ulysses, succeeds to her dominions, and the hero himself returns once more to Ithaca. About the same time,

[1] Paus. x. xxviii. 4.; conf. Athen. vii. p. 281 b. Welcker (op. cit. p. 279. sqq.) and Müller (Zeitschr. für Alterthumsw. p. 1169) assume the Nosti to have contained a complete Necyia, or "Descent to Hades," similar to that of the Odyssey. But the authorities cited do not bear out any such view.

[2] Frg. v. [3] Frg. ii. [4] Procl. in Epit.

[5] Notices occur of various other works of later date under this title, chiefly, it would appear, paraphrases or imitations in prose or verse of the Cyclic poem. But the citations of their text are sufficiently distinguished by internal evidence from those referable to the original Nosti.

[6] Od. xiii. 350., xiv. 435. [7] Il. ii. 623.; conf. Od. iv. 635.

[8] Od. xi. 132. [9] Conf. Od. xiv. 315., xvi. 65. alibi.

Telegonus, his son by Circe, wandering in search of his father, disembarks on the island, and ravages the coast. Ulysses, attacking the invaders, falls by the hand of his son. Telegonus, on discovering his involuntary parricide, transports his father's corpse, together with Penelope and Telemachus, to the island of his mother, who confers upon them and himself the gift of immortality. In the end, Telemachus espouses Circe, Telegonus Penelope.

The Telegonia (in two books) was ascribed, by Proclus and the general tradition of the antients, to Eugammon of the Spartan colony of Cyrene in Africa, an author of the comparatively recent date of the LIIIrd Olymp.[1] (566 B.C.), and the latest contributor to the collection. The more antient Homeric bard, Cinæthon of Lacedæmon, is mentioned, though on somewhat slender authority, as author of a poem under this title[2]; but whether the same, or another which had not survived to historical times, seems not very clear. Eugammon lay under a charge of pirating his Telegonia from a work entitled Thesprotïa, which was ascribed to the fabulous poet Musæus[3]; although, with the same authorities, that celebrated minstrel flourishes several centuries prior to the events treated in the Telegonia. No remains of this poem have been preserved.

Epitome of Proclus compared with other notices of the Cyclic poems.

12. Before entering upon any closer analysis of the respective merits or defects of the separate poems of the Cycle, attention must be directed somewhat more narrowly to the question already briefly noticed: How far the foregoing epitome of the Troïc series can be held to represent the works it comprises in the form in which they emanated from their authors. At the commencement of this head of subject it was

[1] Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 239. [2] Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 155.
[3] Clem. Alex. Str. VI. p. 628.; conf. Clint. locc. citt.

stated to be doubtful, whether, in the compilation of poems habitually quoted from the Alexandrian æra downwards under the name of Cyclic, the individual works may not, where their respective materials interfered with each other, have been subjected to alteration, for the sake of that historical continuity[1] which authorities describe as the characteristic feature of the collection. These doubts rest mainly on certain discrepancies between the Epitome of Proclus and other earlier notices of the contents of several of the poems abridged in that document.

The Little Iliad closes, in the Epitome, with the reception of the wooden horse within the city walls. Aristotle[2], however, and other valid authorities[3] represent the same poem as comprehending the whole subsequent series of events down to the sack of the city and reembarkation of the Greeks for their own country, much as given in the work of Arctinus, which occupies the next place in the series. The poem of Lesches, according to those authorities, described the lighting of the beacon torch by Sinon; the capture, sack, and firing of the city; the meeting of Menelaus and Helen; the murder of Astyanax by Neoptolemus (not Ulysses, as in Arctinus); the capture of Æneas and Andromache by the same Neoptolemus, and their transport as slaves to Thessaly;

[1] The Schol. of Il. xxiv. 804. (Bekk.) alludes to a reading of the text of the Iliad, in which a verse was added to the end of the poem in order to connect its close with the commencement of the Æthiopis, the next work in the Cyclic compilation. Müller (Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 65.) has understood this notice to allude to a "Cyclic" edition of the Iliad framed for that compilation. No mention occurs, however, of any such edition of the Iliad; but a Cyclic Odyssey is cited: see supra, Vol. I. p. 193. note.

[2] Poet. xxiv. ed. Bip.; conf. Gräfenh. ad loc.

[3] See the passages collected and collated by Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 356.; conf. Düntz. frgg. Nachtr. p. 108.

the recognition of Æthra, mother of Theseus and slave of Helen, by her grandsons Demophon and Acamas; with other encounters and incidents of the last fatal night of the city, and the subsequent preparations for the embarkation and return of the Greeks. It appears, therefore, that the compiler of the Cyclic collection[1], finding two poems, or rather integral parts of poems, devoted to the same adventure, had admitted that by Arctinus as the one best suited to his purpose, and suppressed that by Lesches, even at the cost of mutilating the entire work to which it belonged.

As an apology for this proceeding it might be urged, that there is reason to believe that the "Sack of Troy" by Lesches, though usually comprehended under the common title of Little Iliad, may have partaken from the first somewhat of the nature of an independant poem. The case would be similar to that of the Thebaïs and "Expedition of Amphiaraus," which names, while denoting in stricter usage but a portion of the Theban war of succession, are occasionally extended to the whole. Upon this view, the omission of the Ilii-persis of Lesches, in deference to that of Arctinus, while in some degree requisite to give order to the series, could hardly expose the compiler to any very serious charge of tampering with the integrity of his stock of materials.

[1] That the mutilation, if such it be, does not originate with Proclus, but was common to other popular text-books in the lower ages of classical literature, appears from the sculptured reliefs of the Tabula Iliaca (ap. C. G. Müll. de Cyc. Ep.). The action of the Little Iliad, as there represented, is precisely the same as in the Epitome; with the exception, apparently, of a prophetic address by Cassandra at the close, deprecating the introduction of the wooden horse into the city, of which there is no mention in the Epitome.

Another similar difficulty occurs in regard to the Æthiopis. The Epitome of that poem concludes with a simple notice of strife having arisen during the funeral solemnities of Achilles, relative to the disposal of the arms of that hero. The Epitome of the Little Iliad, accordingly, as next in order, takes up the subject where that of the Æthiopis left it, with the competition between Ulysses and Ajax for the arms. Yet from various authorities it appears that the original Æthiopis described the same competition and its consequences, down to the death of Ajax.[1] Another commentator, however, quotes a bulky fragment of Arctinus descriptive of the latter event, not from his Æthiopis, but his Ilii-persis.[2] This would seem to imply that the subject, interrupted at the close of the former poem, had been resumed and completed at the commencement of the latter. But in the Epitome the Ilii-persis of Arctinus, without any mention of the affairs of Ajax, opens where the Little Iliad closes, with the Trojan council relative to the wooden horse. The Robbery of the Palladium is also stated by many authorities to have been narrated by Arctinus.[3] It finds, however, no place in the Epitome, either of his Æthiopis or Ilii-persis. Here, again, as in the parallel case of Lesches, this ambiguity of citation favours the surmise of modern commentators, that the titles of Æthiopis and Ilii-persis, with that of Amazonia formerly alluded to, originally belonged

[1] Schol. Pind. Isthm. IV. 58. (frg. II.); conf. Clint. F. H. vol. I. p. 355. sqq.

[2] Schol. Bekk. ad Il. XI. 515.; conf. Clint. ibid. p. 357. Possibly the death of Ajax may have been treated as part of the principal subject in the former poem, and alluded to episodically in the latter.

[3] Clint. sup. cit.; Dion. Hal. I. 69. (frg. I.); conf. Lobeck, Aglaoph. vol. II. p. 1203. 1205.

to one great poem by Arctinus[1], commencing where the Iliad finished, and concluding with the fall of the city. The analogy would thus be complete between the triple subject and title, Amazonia, Æthiopis, Ilii-persis, and the Thebaïc series formerly noticed, Expedition of Amphiaraus, Thebaïs, Epigoni. Each series would have formed a great epic trilogy, where the name of the principal part was occasionally used as common to the whole.

From the details above given, therefore, it further results, that the central portion of this great poem or series of poems by Arctinus, the portion namely which comprised the Competition for the Arms, Death of Ajax, Robbery of the Palladium, and other intermediate transactions between the funeral of Achilles and the sack of the city, had been omitted in the artificial adjustment of the Cycle, to make way for the first part of the Little Iliad of Lesches, which treated of the same events; just as the latter part of that poem, devoted to the "Destruction of Troy," was discarded in its turn, to make way for the Ilii-persis of Arctinus.

Of actual alteration, as distinct from curtailment, of the text of the original poems, in the Epitome, but a single example can be elicited by a collation of earlier and weightier authorities. Herodotus[2], among his reasons for not admitting the Cypria as a genuine work of Homer, mentions the discrepancy between that poem and the Iliad, in their respective accounts

[1] K. O. Müller assumes (Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 68. note), but only on the ground of his own conjectural restoration of the Borgian tablet, that the Æthiopis and Ilii-persis of Arctinus in this integral form comprised twelve books, being five more than stated in the Epitome. But we cannot venture to give effect to such problematical data.

[2] II. 117.; conf. Eustath. ad Il. VI. 290.

of the voyage of Paris and Helen from Lacedæmon to Troy. In the Iliad, he observes, the fugitives are described as taking a circuitous course by Sidon, while in the Cypria their passage home is performed direct in three days. But in the Epitome of the Cypria the account of this transaction tallies substantially with that given in the Iliad. No satisfactory explanation of this anomaly suggests itself. As the single solitary instance of its kind, it cannot, in the face of so singular a harmony between the Epitome and other collateral authorities in an infinity of other cases, be attributed to any wilful tampering with his materials on the part of the author of that compilation. It is more probably the result of oversight in the adjustment of his copious fund of Homeric tradition, derived from so many secondary as well as primary sources.

The following, then, is the general result of the foregoing scrutiny of the various conflicting data relative to the composition and contents of the poems of the Troïc series.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the outline of the Cypria, as given by Proclus, represents the original extent of the action; as being in unison both with the notices supplied from other sources and with the evident scope of the author of the poem, to furnish a prelude or introduction to the Iliad.

The Æthiopis, according to the limits assigned it in the Epitome, terminates with the obsequies of Achilles; according to collateral authorities, it comprised also the Competition for the Arms and Suicide of Ajax. The Ilii-persis of the same poet, commencing in the Epitome with the adventure of the Trojan Horse, according to other authorities with the death of

Ajax, extends to the destruction of the city and reembarkation of the Greeks. But on the supposition above adverted to, that these two works formed but separate parts of one comprehensive poem, the whole subject thus treated by Arctinus would have ranged from the conclusion of the Iliad down to the fall of Troy, as an epic trilogy, under the three titles of Amazonia, Æthiopis, and Ilii-persis.

The Little Iliad may, on a similar balance of authorities, be considered either as an integral work, commencing with the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms, and terminating with the fall of the city; or as combining two distinct but nearly connected poems, like the Thebaïs and Epigoni. In this latter case, the first part would conclude with the feigned departure of the Greeks, the second would describe the catastrophe consequent on their return.

Regarding the limits of the original Nosti and Telegonia there exists no discordance of authorities; they may, therefore, safely be taken as in the Epitome.

Critical estimate of the poems.

13. With so slender a stock of internal data for estimating the poetical value of these productions, the safest groundwork of critical speculation will be the recorded verdict of those native critics who, with all the necessary aids to guide their opinions, rank as the highest authorities in such questions. Upon the whole, it must be admitted that the balance of this evidence is by no means favourable. While the title of "Cyclic Poet" is in itself one of very ambiguous distinction, the specific allusions to the different poems are not calculated to inspire any high notion of the credit in which they stood among the antients.

It is true that, owing to their near connexion with the Iliad and Odyssey, the opinions concerning them are chiefly expressed in the way of contrast with those two works, and that a fair amount of excellence may have been compatible with a considerable falling off from such standards. Their lightness in this comparative scale might also seem, in some degree, to be counterbalanced by the mere fact of their having been themselves popularly accredited as compositions of Homer. It were, however, certainly somewhat extraordinary, had they been distinguished by any higher poetical excellence, that, with the exception, if it be one, of the qualified allusion of Pausanias to the Thebaïs, not one of them should have been noticed by a single antient critic in terms of distinct and unequivocal eulogy.[1]

Their plan and structure. Judgement of Aristotle.

The most tangible criteria for testing their value are supplied by the passages of Aristotle's Poetics illustrative of the peculiar excellences by which that great master of the critical art held the Iliad and Odyssey to be jointly distinguished from all other works of the same class. The properties on which he chiefly dwells are, unity of whole, combined with variety of detail in the action; and a preference of the dramatic or mimetic to the narrative style of exposition. For the better elucidation of the mode and extent in which these properties are displayed, he appeals, in the way of contrast, to the epic poems ranking nearest in character and merit to the Iliad and Odyssey. These important texts are here subjoined, as forming in themselves a concise commentary on the Cyclic school of poetry, and supplying conse-

[1] See Appendix J.

quently an indispensable basis of any more specific estimate of the individual poems.

"A subject is one, not, as some suppose, from its merely relating to the affairs of one person, for an infinite number of adventures, offering in themselves no unity, might befall a single hero; and, in the same way, one man might perform many exploits not capable of being combined into a single action. Hence all those poets are at fault who have composed Heracleïds and Theseïds, or other similar poems; for they imagine that because Hercules was one, their subject must also be one. But Homer, excellent as he is in other respects, has here also displayed his usual fine tact, whether acquired by art or bestowed by nature. For, in composing an Odyssey, he has not introduced all the eventful transactions of his hero's life . . . but such alone as ranged themselves around that one action which we now call the Odyssey; and so also in regard to the Iliad."[1]

"In epic as in tragic poetry, the subject must be dramatically treated, and concentrated around a single action, united and complete, with beginning, middle, and end, so as to come home to the apprehension with the effect of one entire living being. It is not sufficient, as in ordinary prose narrative, for the connexion of different events under one head, that the mere time of their occurrence should be the same, while there may be in other respects no bond of union between them; or that they should be narrated in continuous succession, although, in respect to their scope and object they may stand in no immediate relation to each other. Such, however, as we have already observed, is the method which almost all other poets have followed. The divine genius of Homer alone appears rising superior to all, in that he does not attempt to place before us the whole Trojan war; for that subject, although presenting (historically) a beginning, a middle, and end, would, if treated in its integrity, either have formed an overgrown and unwieldy action[2], or, if restricted and condensed in the execution, would have been overcharged with matter. He prefers, therefore, selecting one part and diversifying it with numerous episodes. Other poets, indeed, also treat of one person, one time, and one action, but subdivided into many parts; as, for example, the authors of the Cypria and Little Iliad. Hence the materials of the Iliad and Odyssey supply subject each for but

[1] Poetic. IX. ed. Bip.

[2] οὐκ εὐσύνοπτον. (?)

one, or perhaps two tragedies. From the Cypria, on the other hand, may be derived many; from the Little Iliad about eight or more: the Competition for the Arms, the Philoctetes, Neoptolemus, Eurypylus, Ulysses Mendicant, Lacænæ, Ilii-persis, Apoplus, Sinon, Troades."[1]

Its application to individual poems.

14. The terms in which the critic's test of unity is here applied to the Cypria and Little Iliad are somewhat ambiguous, as compared with our collateral knowledge of the contents of these poems. That they treat of one time and one action can only be true in so far as, like ordinary prose histories, they carry a continuous series of occurrences through a corresponding course of time. The Cypria, in fact, judging from the Epitome, must have partaken much of the nature of a metrical chronicle of events during the thirty years from the nuptials of Peleus to the quarrel of Achilles and Agamemnon. It has a beginning, no doubt; but it can hardly be said to have a middle in the poetical sense, there being no adventure which can rank as an epic climax or culminating point; and so far is it from having any just poetical end or catastrophe, that the conclusion is but a sudden interruption of the main stream of the action, lest it should interfere with the commencement of the Iliad.

The poem of Lesches, comprising in Aristotle's edition also the "Destruction of Troy," is not certainly so deficient in unity as the Cypria. It takes up the subject of the Trojan war after a really important crisis, the death of Achilles, and continues it through a limited but eventful period to the fall of the city, the catastrophe of the whole. It has, therefore, historically speaking, both a beginning and end.

[1] Poetic. xxiv. ed. Bip.

It wants, however, the "middle," that is, any one prominent climax or crisis connecting the extremities and cementing the general course of the action. The accumulation of events within the few weeks allotted to that action is also, upon Aristotle's own just principle, as incompatible with poetical unity as the extension of the Cypria over a quarter of a century. The contest for the arms, the death of Paris, and the arrival and exploits of Neoptolemus, though belonging to the same historical series, have obviously no real epic connexion with each other, or with the stratagem of the horse and fall of the city.

The portion, however, of the text of Aristotle most difficult, in its literal sense, to reconcile with the actual structure of these two poems is, the apparent admission of unity in regard to the Person of their respective heroes, or Protagonists. In the Epitome or other extant notices of their contents, neither work can be said to offer a single character possessing any such prominence. At the commencement of the Cypria, Paris appears as the chief actor; but no sooner is Helen safely housed in Troy, than he retires from the scene. After a brief ascendancy of Menelaus, Achilles steps in and assumes the same precedence which belongs to him in the Iliad. Aristotle could hardly have assigned the functions of protagonist to Venus, who, however active at the outset, also retires into the background at an early stage of the history. In the Little Iliad, Ulysses appears as a principal actor, but still without any trace of poetical connexion in his performances; and his ascendancy must certainly have yielded to that of Neoptolemus, on the appearance of the latter hero

in the field. The expression of Aristotle therefore, "one person one time and one action," in the above text, must be interpreted generally, to the effect that one or other rule might be observed even consistently with an otherwise defective treatment; not that all three rules were actually adhered to in the poems selected as examples.

In carrying on the same test to the other more distinguished members of the Cycle, attention is first called to the Thebaïs and Epigoni. Overlooking the closer poetical connexion which seems to be established between these works by the antients, and classing each, for the purpose of this inquiry, as a separate epopee, neither can be said to lie open to serious objection, either as to the limits or connexion of its subject. It must, therefore, probably be owing to the defects of treatment, that they have, the Thebaïs more especially, been tacitly included in the censure of the Stagirite critic. Of the justice of that censure, our slender insight into the precise order of the events of the Thebaïs, how far they may have been treated in methodical succession from the curse of Œdipus downwards, how far distributed and interlaced in the relation of principal subject and episode, prevents our forming any clear judgement. The part of protagonist seems, however, to have been wanting or but ill defined. It is at least difficult to determine, from existing sources, whether the honour belonged to the sons of Œdipus, one or both, to Amphiaraus, or to Adrastus; or whether it was shared by each party in common or in succession. The action of the Epigoni is open rather to the charge of poverty than defective unity. The events it comprises are few and meagre, amounting in fact to little

more than a skeleton of those treated in the latter portion of the Thebaïs.

The Æthiopis, judging from the abstract of its contents in the Epitome, was a mere metrical history of the life of Achilles, from the close of the Iliad to his death, without any apparent Aristotelian bond of epic integrity. His victory over Penthesilea, murder of Thersites, and retirement to Lesbos stand in no poetical connexion with his triumph over Memnon. Nor does the catastrophe of his own death, by the joint agency of Paris and Apollo, with his funeral and apotheosis by Thetis, however natural a conclusion to an Achilleïs, stand in any other relation of unity to the previous events than what Aristotle defines as the mere historical train of succession. If, on the other hand, the subject, as some authorities imply, was originally carried beyond the death of Achilles to the contest for his arms and suicide of Ajax; or if, according to a third hypothesis, the original work of Arctinus, comprising both his Æthiopis and Ilii-persis, brought down the events of the war from the close of the Iliad, in one continuous series, to the fall of the city, it would still more completely merge the character of epic poem in that of metrical chronicle.

The action of the Ilii-persis, considered as a single poem, according to the outline of the Epitome, is simple and united. No such unity of person can, however, be discovered. The adventures and influence of Neoptolemus, Ulysses, and Menelaus, judging at least from existing data, assume in their turn a prominence equally entitling each hero to the honour of protagonist for the time being.

The Nosti has little pretension to unity of any kind. The very title, by its plural formation, seems

in some degree to exclude that property. By reference to the Epitome, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Neoptolemus may each lay nearly equal claim to the honour of principal actor, and their adventures to that of principal subject. The secondary title, however, of "Return of the Atridæ," would imply that the action was meant to be concentrated around the destinies of those heroes.

The Telegonia performs the same duty by the hero of the Odyssey as the Æthiopis by Achilles, conducting him through a desultory train of action or suffering to his death in his native island, by the hand of Telegonus. That hero, in his turn, is brought into fatal collision with his father by another totally distinct series of adventures on his own part. This poem, forming the conclusion of the Troïc series, and of the whole Cycle, ranges through a period of ten or twelve years, the longest occupied by any other but the Cypria, which forms the commencement of the same series.

Details of style and execution. Thebaïc series.

15. Neither the existing means of insight into the contents of the remaining members of the Cycle, nor their individual importance in the scale of epic literature, render it expedient to extend this analysis to the nicer mechanism of their poetical structure. It remains, however, still taking as guide the text of Aristotle and the standard of Homer, briefly to consider the subordinate details of execution or style in the above more celebrated members of the collection. Among the more prominent features of excellence pointed out by Aristotle, as distinguishing the Iliad and Odyssey from other poems of their class, is the dramatic or imitative spirit of their action. "Homer," he remarks, "admirable as he is on so many other

accounts, is no less so in that he alone, among poets, has rightly understood what belongs to his own office. For the poet himself ought to say as little as possible, or he would not be, as he ought to be, an imitator of nature. Other poets are accustomed to appear as themselves the entire managers of the action, leaving little or nothing to imitative art. But Homer, after a brief preamble, introduces at once a man or woman, or some other personification of nature, and always in the most natural and characteristic manner."

The scanty remains of the Cyclic poems can afford but little either of practical confirmation or confutation of the stigma here indirectly thrown by Aristotle on this common defect of their epic style. But such amount of internal evidence as they supply goes far to support his authority; the extant verses where the poets appear to speak in their own person being in the ratio of about six or seven to one of such as can be assumed to have been placed in the mouths of their actors. On several of the former occasions, the author seems even to be introduced repeating the speeches of his heroes at second-hand, informing the reader of what they had said or done in cases where Homer would unquestionably have imposed on them the duty of speaking for themselves. But, even were the proportion of dialogue far greater in these fragments, it would afford but an imperfect index of the dramatic style of the entire works. The criterion of Aristotle, it is evident, does not consist merely in requiring the heroes to act and speak their own parts, but to support their respective characters with spirit and nature.

In regard to some other points of poetical manage-

ment, taste in the selection and propriety in the treatment of descriptive or illustrative details, the existing remains and notices of the poems afford, even apart from any appeal to the judgement of the antients, considerable scope for criticism.

The Thebaïs, pronounced by Pausanias the best epic poem in his opinion next to the genuine works of Homer, offers, both in matter and expression, several low and offensive images. Such was the provocation which called forth, on two successive occasions, the direful curse pronounced by Œdipus on his sons. This provocation, the immediate cause of the whole mighty war of extermination, consisted: first, in their having, in disobedience to their father's commands, served up his meal on the table equipage of their grandfather; secondly, in their having, on another occasion, set before the old king, as his share of the banquet, the knuckle, instead of a more honourable portion of the animal. It might here, perhaps, be urged in apology, that such images, in the legend of a remote semibarbarous age, are not to be judged by the same severe standard as in the literature of civilised periods. Motives in themselves comparatively unimportant or undignified assume, it might be said, a different character when estimated in the spirit of national manners and religion. But this apology, however valid as regards the tradition itself, supplies little or no justification of the poet. His judgement ought to be displayed in the choice, as well as the treatment, of his materials; in either avoiding or ennobling what is mean or commonplace in the rude elements of his subject.[1] No similar

[1] Even the Schol. of Sophocles (Œd. Col. 1375.), who cites one of these passages, pronounces the cause of the old king's wrath "altogether mean and ignoble."

degree of importance has been, or ever could have been, attached (unless in a burlesque sense) to any such incidents by the author of the Iliad, although a poet of an earlier, and by consequence still ruder age, than that which produced the Thebaïs. One of the most admirable features of Homer's muse is, in fact, the fine taste with which, in the serious element of his subject, he has preferred, among the varieties of the popular legend, those most conducive to the ideal dignity of his heroes. Doubtless many of the more offensive or grovelling traits in their character or conduct celebrated by his successors of the Cycle, such as the murder of Palamedes by Diomed and Ulysses, that of Thersites by Achilles, the stench of the wound of Philoctetes, or the slaughter of the sheep by Ajax, may have been familiar to Homer also in the current traditions. But such materials are either rejected by him altogether, or reserved for the humorous element of his narrative. The figure employed by Amphiaraus in the solemn parting advice to his son Amphilochus, as to his future conduct in life, affords also no very favourable impression of the illustrative imagery of the Thebaïs.[1] The young man is counselled, in order to ingratiate himself with those among whom he lives, and attach them to his interest, to imitate "the cunning art with which the polypus allures and grasps in his claws the fish on which he preys." The style of the poem, as represented at least by the existing fragments, is also somewhat dry and laboured[2],

[1] Frag. Pind. p. 650. There can be little doubt, for the reasons assigned by Boeckh (conf. Leutsch, p. 52.), that this passage is paraphrased from the Thebaïs.

[2] The first five verses of the longest extant passage (Leutsch, Rel. Theb. p. 38.; Düntz. frg. II.) are marked by a very lame tautology in

betraying little of Homeric grace or vigour. It is marked, however, by a certain tinge of morbid melancholy, in good keeping with the general tenor of the subject.

Neither the remains of the Epigoni, nor the notices of its contents by classic writers, supply materials for any near estimate of its merits or defects of detail. According to some later, perhaps not very valid, authorities, the absurd and unpoetical story of the Teumesian fox[1] would seem to have formed one of its episodes; which would certainly not tend to raise our opinion of the author's taste in selecting his materials.

Troïc series.

16. The plot of the Cypria is, in its primary conception, essentially unpoetical. The woes of Terra groaning under the weight of her population; the council held in heaven for her relief; the amour of Jove with so unamiable an object of gallantry as Nemesis; and the birth of the Grecian queen of love and beauty from so offensively fantastic an alliance, while but indifferent materials even for an Orphic hymn, are utterly foreign to the genius of the heroic epopee. These mystical peculiarities of the poem savour certainly more of the age of Pisander or Aristeas than of Arctinus or Eumelus, and warrant the belief, that

the recurrence of the commonplace terms *καλόν*, *καλήν*, *αὐτάρ*, *αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα*. The construction of the ninth verse of the same fragment,

ὡς οὖ οἱ πατρῷα ἐνὶ φιλότητι δάσαιντο,

if genuine Greek in its present form, is also as inelegant as un-Homeric. Compare Homer's far more genial mode of expression in the closely parallel verse, 455. of Il IX. He would here also, doubtless, have written,

μή ποτέ οἱ πατρῷα ἐνὶ φιλότητι δάσεσθαι.

[1] Suid. Phot. et Hesych. v. *Τευμησία.*

the Cypria was one of the youngest members of the Cyclic family.

In the details of the action, besides the stench of the wound of Philoctetes already noticed, prominence was assigned to other incidents of a trivial or offensive nature. Such are the curiosity of Achilles to behold Helen, and the joint exertions made by Venus and Thetis to bring about the interview. The blunder committed by the armament on its first expedition, in besieging Teuthrania by mistake for Troy, is also a miserable enough conceit. The degradation of Diomed and Ulysses, as murderers of Palamedes, from the heroic generosity of character which distinguishes them in the Iliad, has already been noticed as a grievous sin against the principles of the Homeric muse. Nor can the ensconcement of Castor and Pollux in a hollow tree to escape detection when plundering cattle, and the death of Castor in that predicament, be reconciled with the dignity of the Dioscuri or of epic composition. The general tone of expression and versification in this poem combines a considerable share of Homeric ease and spirit with a certain lightness and grace, degenerating at times into florid license, in better keeping with the Cyprian character of the subject than the dignity of epic style. It is perhaps to this, upon the whole attractive, feature, that the work owes the superior popularity it appears to have enjoyed among its fellow-members of the Cycle, if, indeed, the length of the preserved passages and the frequency of its citation can be held as valid evidence of any such preference.

In the Æthiopis, the murder of Thersites by Achilles speaks but little in favour of the taste or judgement

of the author. It degrades the sublime protagonist of the Iliad to the level of a brutal assassin, defiling his hands with the blood of a most despicable adversary, upon whom Homer's Ulysses is content, under similar circumstances, to inflict the chastisement of a schoolboy or a slave. The poet of the Æthiopis, however, is not only insensible to the meanness of the action, but so impressed with its value as to assign it an important influence on the progress of events. Sympathy for the fate of the poor buffoon causes sedition in the army, and an interruption of the operations of the siege, by the obligation imposed on Achilles of absenting himself beyond sea. The cause of his wrath against Thersites, an imputation to him by the latter of unnatural passion for the slain Amazon, is as unworthy of the Homeric muse as the vengeance exacted. No remains of this poem are extant.

The first two verses of the Little Iliad, which have been preserved, are in a somewhat lame and pompous tone of Homeric imitation. There can be little doubt that they are the passage, or one of the passages, which Horace had in view, in his satirical description of the mode in which the "Cyclic poet of old" was wont to open his subject. Among the other fragments which have survived, the four lines of conversation between the Trojan women on the city wall, as to the comparative merits of Ajax and Ulysses, seem, with other evidence, to favour the opinion that this was a work of more homely and familiar, occasionally perhaps humorous, character than others of the series. The travesty of Ulysses as a mendicant, and his intrigues in Troy, also belong to the Odyssaïc class of adventure. The scene in the

wooden horse alluded to in the Odyssey[1], which evidently partakes of the comic character, has also been supposed, on plausible grounds, to have been more fully treated by Lesches. This consideration, however, can hardly palliate so ludicrous and offensive an ebullition of insane fury on the part of Ajax, in the last tragic act of his life, as the slaughter of the sheep, by mistake for the warriors, of the camp. To such an exploit even the countenance of Sophocles cannot impart dramatic dignity. The latter half of the action, however, according to the limits assigned it by Aristotle, could hardly have admitted any tinge of the burlesque; and, accordingly, the fragments connected with that part of the poem describe in gloomy and severe, though somewhat tame and prosaic language, some of the horrors of the last fatal night of the city. This apparent difference of style in the two subdivisions of the poem of Lesches favours the view above expressed, that each may have been originally invested by its author with a certain independance of character; the lighter Odyssaïc adventures being confined to the first of the two. The other fragments of this part of the text are in an easy flowing vein of versification, justifying, upon the whole, a more favourable opinion of the general style than the two lines of exordium.

In the Ilii-persis of Arctinus, the cowardly flight of Æneas from the city, the day before the assault of the Greeks, degrades the most unexceptionable Trojan character of the Iliad no less effectually, than the characters of Ulysses, Diomed, Ajax, and Achilles are degraded in the Cypria, Æthiopis, and Little Iliad. The only extant fragment, describing the two sons

[1] IV. 285.; Schol. ad loc.; conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 72.

of Æsculapius and their art, is in an agreeable unaffected vein of Homeric versification.

The action of the Nosti does not in its details offer any just cause for censure on the ground of poetical propriety; nor are the few remaining lines of the text marked by any distinctive features of style.

The Telegonia, as it was the last both in the order of its subject and the date of its composition, was apparently the worst poem of the Cycle. While it still further debases the character of Ulysses, it closes his family history by a senseless and disgusting catastrophe. His wanton desertion, in his old age, of the virtuous Penelope, to whom, in the midst of numberless trials and temptations, he had evinced so devoted a constancy in his rampant days of youth and manhood; his bigamy with a barbarian mistress during her lifetime; and his subsequent return to Ithaca, reunion with Penelope, and death by the hand of his own adulterous offspring, form a tissue of adventures all equally un-Homeric and unpoetical. The ultimate settlement of the family by a pair of unnaturally incestuous marriages, with the boon of immortality conferred on the guilty parties, to the exclusion of the deceased hero himself, offers a most appropriately absurd conclusion to a tasteless and extravagant narrative.

Lest the judgement here passed on the Cyclic poems, in absence it may perhaps be said, and all but unheard, should seem severe, it will be proper in conclusion to remind the reader that it has been drawn up with immediate reference to the Homeric standard of excellence, an ordeal which they all appear to court by the very claims they advance

to Homeric honours, but which few productions of any age and otherwise acknowledged excellence can sustain. It must not, however, be forgotten, that much of what is objectionable in theory may possess considerable merit in the execution; and many, consequently, of those conceptions which, in the existing outline or skeleton, lie open to serious objection, may, as worked up by a fervid imagination in glowing colours, have possessed their own characteristic value, which we are now deprived of competent means of estimating. In partial illustration of these remarks appeal might be made to the expressive gloom and melancholy which, dimly beaming through the fragments of the Thebaïs, harmonise so well with the spirit of the action; and to the fantastic grace and levity which, with equal adaptation to the genius of the poem, distinguish the extant passages of the Cypria.

Special relation of the poems to the Iliad and Odyssey.

17. It remains but to advert once more, with the form and character of these poems thus more fully before us, to the evidence they supply of the fallacy of the late popular theories regarding the origin of the Iliad and Odyssey. Even those who have here carried scepticism to the greatest length have hardly ventured to maintain that all these bulky epopees, with other equally voluminous non-Homeric compositions of remote date, were, as the Iliad and Odyssey have been pronounced, compilations of fugitive ballads, rather than integral works by single authors. Nor will it now probably be disputed in any reasonable quarter, after the more searching investigation to which this chapter of literary history has of late years been subjected, that several at least of the Cyclic poems date, in their integral form and com-

pass, from a period several centuries prior to the rise of the supposed primitive system of bookmaking to which their two great prototypes have been assumed to owe their existence. When, therefore, we find, with all the variety of their subjects, how carefully those among the Cyclic poems devoted to the Trojan war abstain from trespassing on the action of the Iliad and Odyssey; when we find the Cypria, at the expense of a most impotent conclusion, halting at the close of its thirty years' narrative, in what is still but the middle of its own subject, lest it should encroach on the commencement of the Iliad; when we find Arctinus taking up the thread with equal servility where the Iliad lays it down, and both Arctinus and Lesches concluding where the Odyssey commences; when we find, lastly, the Nosti, the only poem which ventures to interfere with the Odyssey in regard to time, carefully avoiding all encroachment on its action, running a parallel but completely independant course; when we add to this the united testimony of the antients, confirmed by the existing remains, to the imitative character of these works, and to the obsequious manner in which their authors borrowed incidental allusions or episodical details from the text of Homer, as materials for their own most important heads of action; we cannot fail to recognise, in the earlier Cyclic poems, inferior specimens of the same order of comprehensive epopee, of which the genuine Homer had in the Iliad and Odyssey furnished the standard models. The two prototypes must by consequence emanate, in their existing substantial integrity, from a far more remote period of antiquity.

The Cyclic poets, it must also be remembered,

are the same "Homerids" who in the Wolfian school of commentary, whether as amplifiers or interpolators of a more or less entire Iliad and Odyssey, figure as authors of many of the very noblest and most characteristic passages or episodes of each poem. The question then occurs: How happens it that minstrels who, in their subordinate capacity of botchers of existing works, stand forth as bards of surpassing genius, should, the moment they turn that genius to the composition of an original poem, of a Cypria for example, or an Æthiopis, relapse into mediocrity or plagiarism? He must be a very indulgent, but not very discerning critic, who can believe that the united talents of the authors of all the preserved passages of Homeric epopees, passages representing, we are entitled to assume, the cream of the original compositions, should ever have produced the episode of "The Shield," the Deputation Scene of the ninth book, or the Interview between Priam and Achilles in the last book of the Iliad.

CHAP. XX.

HOMERIC HYMNS AND MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

1. GREEK HYMNS AND THEIR VARIOUS ORDERS. — 2. HOMERIC HYMNS. THEIR CLAIMS TO EMANATE FROM HOMER. — 3. HOW FAR USED AS EXORDIA OR PROŒMIA TO OTHER COMPOSITIONS. — 4. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LONGER HOMERIC HYMNS. — 5. DELIAN HYMN TO APOLLO, AND ITS AUTHOR. — 6. ITS AGE AND STYLE. — 7. PYTHIAN HYMN TO APOLLO. — 8. ITS CONNEXION WITH THE DELIAN HYMN. AGE AND STYLE. — 9. HYMN TO HERMES. — 10. ITS STYLE AND DIALECT. ÆOLIAN ORIGIN. — 11. HYMN TO APHRODITE. — 12. HYMN TO DEMETER. — 13. ITS AGE AND STYLE. — 14. HYMN TO DIONYSUS. SHORTER HOMERIC HYMNS. — 15. BATRACHOMYOMACHIA. ADDRESS TO CUMA. CAMINUS. IRESIONE. — 16. MARGITES. — 17. CERCOPES. PHOCAÏS EPICICHLIDES, ETC.

Greek nymns, and their various orders.

1. A HYMN may be defined a Song or Ode in honour of the Deity or other object of religious veneration. The term, consequently, in familiar usage, both antient and modern, is limited solely or chiefly to lyric composition. To the Lyric Hymn in the stricter sense, that is, the melic and choral orders of poetry comprised under that title, attention will be directed in the ensuing Book devoted to the lyric literature of this period. The epic or Homeric hymns, however, claim, on special grounds, a place in its epic literature; first, owing to their immediate relation, both in origin and style, to the school of poetry from which they derive their title; secondly, as really partaking more of the epic than the lyric character.

To this branch of composition tradition refers the earliest efforts of the Hellenic Muse, the works of her Olen, Orpheus, Thamyris, and other bards of mythical ages. Any general remarks, therefore, on the origin or distinctive properties of the hymn might appear, on strictly chronological principles, to belong to a former

chapter, devoted to the history of these mysterious personages. The purely mythical character of those poets, however, and the consequent absence of all genuine materials for any practical illustration of the subject in connexion with their names, render it obviously preferable to combine its entire treatment with a period when such materials were abundantly at hand.

The Hellenic hymns may be classed under the three heads of mythical, mystical, and philosophical.

Those of the mythical order celebrate the genealogy, actions, or attributes of the popular Pagan deities, in their familiar anthropomorphic capacity.

In those of the mystical order the more recondite notions of the Divinity were expounded, either as typified by the same popular deities under some more subtle variety of title and character, or by other essentially mystical members of the Pantheon.

The philosophical hymns celebrated the divine attributes of power, wisdom, or justice, as conceived in the schools of national philosophy. These attributes here also were frequently symbolised in the persons of popular deities to whom they were held to be peculiar, or under such other variety of moral or physical abstraction as the fancy of the individual poet, or of the sect to which he belonged, may have suggested.

To the hymns of the two latter classes, which do not, as may be supposed, always admit of being very accurately distinguished from each other, may be numbered a large proportion of those in the Orphic collection, as also of those ascribed to Linus, Musæus, and other fabulous poets. The hymns of the mythical class, to which the entire Homeric collection belongs, with the exception of one to Mars

of a philosophical tendency, appear to have been composed in great part for the service of the popular religion, and recited in connexion with the rites to which, in style or subject, they were adapted; the procession, the sacrifice, the dance, or the banquet. That this, however, was the case with all, even of the earlier more genial among them, is little probable, from the discreditable and even ludicrous light in which the character and conduct of the deities are often exhibited in their text. Such compositions, therefore, as the Homeric hymn to Mercury were, probably, destined less for the solemnities of the altar, than, like the Song of Demodocus in the Odyssey, for familiar occasions of festive conviviality, where the adventures of the popular objects of worship were made, like all other subjects, to contribute their share to the common fund of mirthful entertainment.

How far the mystical hymns current in the popular literature may have been destined for religious ceremonial is also questionable. Considering the close veil of secrecy under which every thing connected with the Hellenic mysteries, in the higher sense, was shrouded, it can hardly be presumed that the odes performed in their celebration would be generally circulated, at least during the flourishing age of Hellenism. At the later period, however, when the penal ordinances by which the inviolability of the mysteries was enforced became powerless, the obstacles to a promulgation of their genuine ritual might be removed; and, in so far, traces of it might be contained in the hymns of the Orphic and other similar collections. The philosophical hymns belonged, probably, at every period, to the literature rather than the religion of the nation.

Homeric hymns. Their claims to Homeric origin.

2. The Homeric hymns[1], while almost exclusively of the mythical class, are also in great part of purely epic character and style. This is more especially the case with the longer hymns in the collection, those, namely, to Apollo, Hermes, Aphrodite, Demeter, and the first of the three to Dionysus; six in all, reckoning that to Apollo, on grounds to be considered hereafter, as two compositions, blended in the course of transmission into one. They may, in fact, be styled theological ballads, narrating popular passages in the lives of the deities celebrated. To the above number must be added the Song of Demodocus in the Odyssey, as being in all essential respects an epic hymn to Vulcan. It requires, in fact, but a slight variation of the introductory lines which now connect that narrative with the main action of the Odyssey, to constitute it as independant a poem as the hymn to Aphrodite or Hermes in the Homeric collection. Of the remaining shorter members of that collection, some may also in so far lay claim to the epic character, as comprising narratives of divine adventures. In most of these cases, however, the historical is so subservient to the eulogistic or laudatory element, as to turn the balance on the lyric side.

That the claims of this compilation[2], or of any portion

[1] The edition here chiefly referred to is that of Franke, Lips. 1828; conf. Ilgen, Hymn. Homer. 1796; Matthiæ, Animadv. in Hymn. Hom. cum Prolegg. 1800; Hermann, Homer. Hymn. et Epigram. 1806.

[2] Hymns under the title of "Homer," or "Homeric," including apparently the chief of those now extant, are frequently alluded to by the antients (Vit. Hom. Herod. IX.; Diod. Sic. I. 15., III. 65., IV. 2.; Pausan. IX. XXX. 6.; Schol. Pind. Pyth. III. 14.; Schol. Nicand. Alex. 130.) in a collective sense; and it seems not improbable that they had been digested as a separate compilation by the Alexandrian critics or some later school of grammarians. The hymns now extant usually appear in a collective form in the existing MSS., combined, however,

of it, to emanate from the original Homer rest on no satisfactory basis, is the general, it may almost be said, the unanimous judgement of the modern critical public; a judgement partly founded on the absence of competent testimony in favour of the vulgar opinion, partly on the internal evidence of the works. The most important authority in opposition to the modern opinion is Thucydides.[1] By that historian, the first hymn in the collection, addressed to the Delian Apollo, and describing its own author as the "Blind bard of Chios," has been quoted, in allusion to certain solemnities of the Delian sanctuary, as a genuine work of Homer. This opinion has also found favour with other respectable classics.[2] Some modern commentators would set aside this passage of the historian as a mere conventional deference to the popular opinion of the day, and involving no personal guarantee on his part of its critical accuracy. This interpretation, however, cannot here be admitted. So deliberate and unqualified an appeal to Homer, as a historical authority on a nice point of remote antiquity, could hardly, under any circumstances, be so construed. But the specific allusion by Thucydides to Homer's "mention of himself" in the quoted verses, is conclusive evidence that the quoter actually believed the hymn to be a genuine work of the author of the Iliad. The degree of deference due to the authority of the historian is another question. Thucydides was not a

in almost every case, with other similar works of what are called the "Minor Greek Poets." For these MSS. see Matthiæ, Præf. ad Hymn. Hom. p. ix. sqq.

[1] III. 104.

[2] Aristid. tom. II. p. 409. ed. Oxon. 1730; conf. Agon Hom. et Hes. Göttl. p. 253.; Aristoph. Birds, 574.

professional critic, and flourished before the grammatical art was sufficiently matured to warrant the belief that, in the course of his Homeric studies, his attention had been seriously directed to the nice distinction here involved. Nor, even in that case, could his judgement be placed in competition with the opposite verdict of the great majority of the professional grammarians and literary antiquaries of the succeeding generation.

That such was their verdict cannot be questioned. It is true that not only the Delian but other of the longer hymns[1], in the ordinary appeals to their text, are quoted by respectable authors as the compositions of "Homer." But, in most of these cases, the citation may safely be taken in the familiar or conventional sense, as referring to the school rather than the person of the poet. On other occasions, they are characterised as the hymns "ascribed" to Homer; and the same Delian hymn cited as genuine by Thucydides was provided, in more critical quarters, with a distinct author in the person of Cynæthus[2], a Chian rhapsodist of the 69th Olympiad. That the claims of these poems to Homeric origin were not countenanced by the Alexandrian grammarians, the highest authority in such matters, may be confidently inferred from the circumstance, that among the peculiarities of facts or phraseology pointed out as repugnant to the genuine tradition or usage of Homer, by those critics in their commentaries on the Iliad and

[1] See Diod. sup. cit., of a Hymn to Dionysus; Nicand. sup. cit., Pausan. I. xxxviii. 3., II. xiv. 2., IV. xxx. 3. alibi, of the H. to Ceres; Antig. Caryst. 7., of the H. to Hermes; Paus. X. xxxvii. 4. of the H. to Apoll. Pyth.; conf. Steph. Byz. v. Τευμησσός.

[2] Hippostrat. ap. Schol. Pind. Nem. II. 1.

Odyssey, several are found in the text of the hymns.[1] The familiar adage, "that the poet has nowhere distinctly alluded to himself or his concerns," were also entirely unmeaning, had the Delian hymn, the author of which describes himself as "a blind old man residing at Chios," been generally held to possess any solid pretensions to genuine character. Other negative arguments of the same kind might be accumulated. One or two will suffice, from an author of deserved reputation as a Homeric scholar and geographer. Strabo[2] asserts that the name Samos is never given by Homer to the island on the coast of Ionia, to which it was afterwards almost exclusively appropriated; being limited by him to the Cephallenian Samos, now Cefalonia, and to the Thracian Samos, afterwards Samothrace. The Ionian Samos is, however, mentioned under its familiar title in the Delian hymn.[3] In another passage of the geographer[4], Cnidus, also mentioned in that hymn[5], is specified, on the same negative authority of the Iliad and Odyssey, as not yet founded in the days of Homer. The same rule of critical distinction might be extended to the names Europa[6], Peloponnesus[7], and other terms repugnant to genuine Homeric usage, which occur in the various members of the collection.

How far used as Exordia or Proœmia to other compositions.

3. It has been conjectured by modern critics[8], that these hymns were originally mere exordia or preambles, prefixed to other longer more regular compositions, epic or lyric, in the public recitals of the rhapsodists at the popular religious solemnities.

[1] Wolf, Prolegg. p. 246. note. [2] x. p. 457. [3] 41. [4] xiv. p. 653. [5] 43. [6] Strab. p. 554. [7] Strab. viii. p. 369. [8] Wolf, Prolegg. ad Hom. p. 107.

Among other arguments urged in favour of this view, is the occasional recurrence of certain lines of introductory or valedictory commonplace at the commencement or close of the text, intimating that the poem just recited was but a part of a series, and announcing a transition to some other object of celebration. That many of the minor compositions in the collection were of this nature might, even in the absence of more specific reasons, be inferred from their general style and tenor. Their brevity, and the abruptness of their conclusion, while scarcely compatible with the dignity of independant composition, harmonise well with the inaugurative prelude to another longer poem. That such invocations were a customary preamble to the heroic song of the bard also appears, not only from the testimony of Pindar[1] and other later writers, but from the terms in which Homer in the Odyssey[2] describes Demodocus as prefacing his Song of the "Wooden Horse" by an inaugural address to some patron deity.

The extension of this theory, however, to the whole collection, especially to the bulky poems which form the first part of it, cannot be so readily admitted. The length and epic fulness of those poems seem incompatible with any such purpose. A short address to a popular deity might have a happy effect, prefixed to a narrative of adventures where his agency had been conspicuous: an address to Minerva, for example, before the Dolonea; or to Hermes, before the last book of the Iliad. But to have prefaced one of these subjects by

[1] Nem. II. init ; Plut. de Mus. IV.

[2] VIII. 499.; conf. Welck. Ep. C. p. 302. sq.

another long narrative, distinct and complete in itself, and describing other and different portions of the life and exploits of the same deity, were a breach of that propriety which distinguishes the Greeks in all that belongs to the mechanism of their literature. Appeal has been made to the title Proœmium, frequently applied by the antients to the Homeric hymn to Apollo, and various other compositions of the same class. This title has been interpreted, according to what is no doubt its more familiar acceptation, as denoting that the compositions so designated served as introductions to other longer poems. It seems, however, certain, that the term is here applied in a nobler and more extended sense, as indicating the first or inaugural ode of a series of similar hymns, many of which were recited in the popular national solemnities; some during the advance or procession to the sanctuary or altar, others in the course of the sacrifice, others at the sacrifical banquet, or at the close of the whole ceremonial. Hence may be explained how the title Proœmium, when employed in this more dignified sense, either in the case of the Homeric hymns, or of other similar compositions, is limited solely or chiefly to those in honour of Apollo.[1] This evidently implies that the triumphal hymns of the god of music were habitually preferred as inaugural odes, even perhaps where the rites that followed were common to other deities. That such was the fact is further warranted by the verses[2] towards the close of the Delian hymn,

[1] Thucyd. et Aristid. sup. citt.; Pausan. x. viii. 5.; Plat. Phæd. p. 60 D. Diogen. Laert. VIII. 57.; Æschyl. Ag. 31.; conf. Plut. de Mus. IV.

[2] 158. sqq.

where the series of similar compositions at the Delian festival, in honour not only of Latona and Artemis, but of mortal heroes and heroines, is described as opened by an inaugural hymn to Apollo.[1] A like preference was awarded in later times to the Pæan, or convivial song of the same god, in the musical exercises of social banquets and Symposia. Hence, also, may perhaps be explained the existing combination of the Delian and Pythian hymns into one poem, as now edited. Assuming them to have originally succeeded each other in the customary order of celebration, the one as the proœmium, descriptive of the birth and first establishment of the worship of Apollo, the other recording the spread of his influence, they might naturally, in the subsequent vicissitudes of their text, have been confounded by transcribers and editors into one. In support of this view it may further be remarked, that, while the title Proœmium is familiarly applied in the extant citations to the Delian hymn, the Pythian hymn is nowhere similarly designated. The originally independant character of the regular epic hymn is further vouched for by the authority of Homer himself in the Odyssey, where the song of Demodocus, while recited by the bard as an integral poem, is in all essential respects identical in character with the hymns of Homer's successors and imitators. Even consistently with this separate independance of character, such compositions might no doubt have been sung as

[1] The phrase Prosodium, or "Processional Hymn," seems in its origin, if not in its subsequent usage, to have been similarly restricted to odes to Apollo; and to have been nearly synonymous, therefore, with that of "Proœmium" in the sense here in question. Paus. IV. iv. 1., IV. xxxiii. 3., V. xix. 2., IX. xii. 4 ; conf. Boeckh. Fragm. Pind. p. 586.

inaugural proœmia to a series of rhapsodial performances; but not as introductory parts or appendages of the separate rhapsodies.

Characteristics of the longer Homeric hymns.

4. The six longer, more properly epic, hymns of the collection, or the seven, including the song of Demodocus, all observe more or less strictly, within their narrow limits, the law of poetical unity enjoined by the standard models of the school from which they proceed. In each some one action or adventure of the deity is constituted a central point, around which his other claims to veneration or honour are distributed as accessary or episode. This principle of unity is but rarely or partially observed in the epic hymns of later poets, where various, often numerous, incidents in the fabulous life of the same god are accumulated, without any common bond of unity, into one continuous narrative. In the mode of treating their respective subjects, especially in the moral and religious element of their text, the six standard Homeric hymns are marked by a considerable variety of character. In none can be recognised any great amount of that reverential spirit which ought to pervade solemn addresses to the Deity, and by which many minor compositions in the collection are more or less distinguished. The hymn to Ceres is, upon the whole, characterised by the greatest degree of gravity and solemnity, verging upon the mystical, as befitted the mysterious attributes of the heroine. The praises of the Delian and Pythian god, while in a livelier more festive vein, are also not deficient in epic dignity. In the adventures of Dionysus these features are tempered by a certain admixture of comi-tragic humour; which in the hymn to Mercury degenerates into pure comedy, often of a very indecent

description. In the hymn to Aphrodite, the amorous class of adventure is treated with freedom but elegance, and, apparently, without intentional levity or breach of propriety. The hymn to Vulcan, in the Odyssey, is a brilliant example of a plainly licentious subject treated in the purest spirit of comic satire, without any approach to grossness or indelicacy. The three latter compositions offer, each, a more or less pointed evidence, in addition to that supplied by the Iliad, how keenly the primitive Greeks were alive to the absurdities of the popular religion, and with what boldness they turned them to account in the indulgence of their innate propensity to select, by preference, the victims of their ungovernable spirit of satire from the highest quarters.

That the hymn to Apollo, which appears as one in the present editions, comprises two originally distinct compositions, one to the god in his character of Delian, the other in that of Pythian, is an opinion now generally, or even universally, adopted. The evidence in its favour, both historical and internal, is conclusive. The chief argument of the latter kind is, that the existing combination of two distinct heads of subject in the same poem involves, not only a violation of the epic unity common to all the other compositions of the same class in the collection, but a complete sacrifice even of that ordinary degree of continuity in the treatment of those two heads which is essential to constitute a single narrative. This internal evidence is supported by the indirect testimony of Thucydides and Aristides, who, in citing the concluding lines of what now forms the first or Delian subdivision of the hymn, describe them as

the close of a separate work.[1] A similar inference results from the distinction above noticed, as drawn by the antients, in quoting the Delian subdivision by the title of proœmium, the Pythian under the ordinary designation of hymn or poem. The hypothesis, therefore, of two originally separate hymns may confidently be adopted as the basis of any critical remarks on their composition.

THE DELIAN HYMN TO APOLLO.

Delian hymn to Apollo, and its author.

5. After an introductory tribute of praise to the god, describing the honours he enjoyed in the assembled court of Olympus, and a short congratulatory address to Latona, the poet enters on the main subject of the hymn, the birth of Apollo in Delos, and establishment of his favourite seat of worship in that island.

Latona, when pregnant by Jupiter of the infant deity, and persecuted by the jealousy of Juno, wanders from coast to coast and island to island, vainly seeking a resting-place where she may give birth to her divine progeny. All refuse her an asylum, dismayed by the prospect of so terrible a colonist settling on their shore. At length she arrives at the rugged islet of Delos, and

[1] Locc. sup. citt. This confusion of two hymns into one by later transcribers was first pointed out by Ruhnkenius, Epist. Crit. ad Hymn. in Cerer. p. 91. More recent commentators, under the influence of the prevailing mania for such speculations, assume each of these poems in its individual capacity, with all or most of the other members of the collection, to be mere patchworks by successive generations of rhapsodists or compilers, working possibly upon some primitive basis of genuine matter. The process of analysis by which it is endeavoured to give effect to this view consists chiefly, as in the case of the Iliad and Odyssey, in picking petty flaws and holes in the mechanical structure of the text; partly, in the reduction of the more prominent characteristics of originality or individuality, often of merit as well as defect, the very salt and flavour of a national literature, to some arbitrary standard of dry uniformity, established at the discretion of the critic. See Herm. Epist. ad Ilgen. p. xx. sqq.; conf. Matthiæ, Prolegg. ad Hymn. Hom. p. 15. sqq.

tempts it to compliance, by contrasting in glowing colours, with its present dreary and deserted state, the honours and wealth to be accumulated on its barren rocks were they to become the chosen sanctuary of Apollo. The nymph of the island expresses alarm lest the deity, on entering the world, ashamed of his mean birthplace, should indignantly trample her under foot, overwhelm her in the sea, and transfer his residence to some more favoured spot. Reassured, however, by Latona, with an oath on the Styx, that all the fair prospects held out shall be realised, she joyfully consents.

Provided with a refuge, the goddess is seized by her pains, which are prolonged during nine days owing to the absence of Ilithyia, detained in Olympus by the invidious influence of Juno. At length, through the interference of the other female deities, who sympathise with their afflicted kinswoman, the celestial midwife, eluding the vigilance of Juno, affords her assistance, and the divine babe is brought forth amid the rejoicings of the assembled friendly goddesses.

On entering the world he selects the bow as his weapon, music and augury as his favourite arts, Delos as his terrestrial abode. This preference at once secures the island the promised affluence and honours. "But the period when the god views with greatest delight his chosen seat is during the celebration of his festival by the Ionians, convened in solemn assembly with their wives and children, and listening to the daughters of the island chanting his hymns of praise."

The poem concludes with an apostrophe to the author, "as the blind old bard dwelling in Chios, whose songs were destined to a lasting preeminence in fame and popularity over those of all other poets;" with an appeal to the grateful remembrance of the Delian damsels; and a promise "to sing their praises in his wanderings among the cities of men."

The most interesting feature of this hymn, as bearing on the question of its origin, is the personification of the "blind bard" himself addressing the Delian damsels, which formed, in the days of Thucydides, a chief argument of the genuine character of the poem. It will be considered by the more discerning critic of the present day, for reasons already given, as

it was probably by Aristotle and Aristarchus, equally strong evidence of imposture. Dismissing, therefore, the pretensions of the passage to emanate from the true Homer, various other conjectures offer themselves as to its real import or author. Some commentators have surmised, with more simplicity than sagacity, that the hymn actually was composed, not indeed by *the* "blind bard," but by *a* real blind bard of Chios, who thus, in genuine good faith, and in his own proper person, claims a precedence in merit and fame over all other mortal poets. This were certainly a very wonderful, scarcely credible, coincidence between the real history of the hymnographer and the fabulous history of the true Homer. It would also require a wide stretch of credulity to believe that any successor and imitator of the genuine Homer would have ventured, in a solemn address to a great popular assembly, to boast himself superior to his master in glory and future fame; or that an Ionian public would have listened with indulgence to such absurd pretensions.[1] The only plausible or rational alternative that remains is, to assume that the author of the hymn, whether Cynæthus, to whom Hippostratus[2] ascribes it, or some other Chian rhapsodist, had pirated, together with the style, the person also of his chief as figured in the tradition of his own native town; and had passed off, or endeavoured to pass off, his work as a genuine production of Homer. The hymn would thus possess another source of interest, as being the earliest ascertained specimen of this species of literary fraud.

[1] This consideration supplies another strong argument against the theory which would ascribe the hymn to the primitive Lacedæmonian Homerid Cinæthon. See Appendix H.

[2] Schol. Pind. Nem. II. 1.

Its age and style.

6. Upon a just critical estimate of the circumstances under which the counterfeit was produced must mainly depend our judgement as to its antiquity. Its composition can hardly be carried back to the earlier flourishing period of the Ionian colonies, when Delos, under their protection and patronage, enjoyed, in addition to her sacred privileges, a full share of the common prosperity. Literary forgeries of this nature were little in keeping with the genius of that period, and still less likely to be successfully palmed on the ritual of a great national solemnity. A more probable date for the spurious production would be the age of Pisistratus; by whom the sanctuary, already shorn, it would seem, of its antient splendour, and comparatively neglected, was renovated and purified, and thenceforward remained a dependant of Athens.[1] A more favourable opportunity could hardly have been offered to an ingenious forger for promulgating his labours, than that of the reinauguration of a great national seat of worship, under the auspices of a family whose literary ascendancy was proverbial for the successful exercise of such imposture.[2]

The geographical allusions afford few criteria for fixing the epoch of the poem, and those necessarily open to suspicion in the case of a supposititious work. The circumstance that, in v. 31., Ægina is passed over without epithet, while Eubœa is cele-

[1] Thucyd. III. civ.; Herod. I. lxiv.; conf. Matth. Proleg. p. 23. sq.

[2] To the difficulty made by Ruhnkenius, Welcker, and others, as to the citation by Thucydides of a hymn of so recent date as the genuine work of Homer, but slight importance can attach. There can be little doubt that compositions forged in the time of the Pisistratidæ were imputed not only to Homer but to Orpheus, Musæus, and other purely fabulous bards, as early, and by as competent judges as Thucydides.

brated for its nautical enterprise, might seem to imply that the hymn was composed prior to the maritime power of the former island. Eubœa, however, was a dependant, Ægina a rival of Athens. An ingenious forger, writing under Attic auspices, would adapt his allusions accordingly. The language and versification, while Homeric in their general style, differ, in occasional points of idiom and phraseology, widely from the usage of the Iliad or Odyssey.[1] Although the text, like that of most other members of the collection, presents various gaps and incoherences, the result of corruptions, accidental or wilful, they are not such as to interfere with the general connexion and unity of the narrative.[2]

The fable of the poem is well conceived, and, upon the whole, well managed in the execution. The general tone of the narrative is dignified and pleasing, and the dialogue between the nymph of Delos and Latona, in negotiating the god's settlement on the island, is both spirited and elegant. The attempts, however, to soar a higher poetical flight are not successful, and both sentiment and imagery betray an occasional lameness and poverty. The exaggerated description, in the exordium, of the humble and reverential honours paid by the assembled deities to Phœbus in the circle of Olympus; of their rising, inclusive of Jove himself, from their thrones at his entrance, and "trembling" when he strings his bow;

[1] In vv. 19. 158. *ὑμνέω, εὔυμνος*, 20. *νόμοι βεβλήαται ᾠδῆς*, 46. *θέλοι*, 68. *πρυτανευσίμεν*, 157. *θεράπναι*, 162. *κρεμβαλιαστύν*, 163. *μιμεῖσθαι*, 173. *ἀριστεύειν*, here of things, with Homer of men only; also 123. *θήσατο*, suckled, with Homer sucked; to which other examples might be added.

[2] In v. 59. the original reading was probably *δηρὸν ἀναΐξει βωμοῖσι, θεοὶ δέ σ' ἔχωσι*, which restores the sense; the cæsure occurs elsewhere in the secondary Homeric poems.

is so extravagant a compliment to the poet's own hero, at the expense of Jupiter's acknowledged superiority in rank and power, as to produce a burlesque, rather than the impressive effect which was intended. The same remark extends to the servile performance by Latona of certain menial offices to her son. The description of Iris running her messages on foot[1], between Olympus and Delos, is also both unpoetical and un-Homeric. The figures of immortality and eternal youth[2], employed to illustrate the brilliant appearance of the Ionian assembly (consisting, in great part, of persons of advanced age), with their ships and cargoes, is an unmeaning hyperbole.

THE PYTHIAN HYMN TO APOLLO

Pythian hymn to Apollo.

7. Celebrates the Pythian or Delphic sanctuary of the god, as the preceding poem had celebrated his Delian birthplace. After a preamble describing the joyful welcome of Phœbus by his fellow-deities, on his return to Olympus from his periodical visits to favoured seats on earth, and a brief allusion to some other less important events in the life of the god, the poet enters on the main subject of his song.

Phœbus descending from Olympus in quest of a site for his prophetic shrine, and traversing Pieria and Thessaly, crosses the sea, first to Eubœa, and thence to Bœotia. After passing the as yet uninhabited site of Thebes, his attention is attracted by the beauty of the fountain Tilphussa, near Haliartus, on the shore of the Cephissian lake. On his proposal to construct his temple by her side, the nymph, jealous of her own dignity, artfully dissuades him, urging the disturbance to which his rites and worshippers will be exposed by the carriages and beasts of burthen which assemble to water from her stream. She suggests, as a more

[1] 108. The same defect is observable in the hymn to Ceres, 317.
[2] 151.

appropriate site, a spot in the vale of Crissa in Phocis, where he will be free from any such annoyance. Thither accordingly he repairs, and marks out the foundations of his sanctuary, which is constructed by the celebrated architects Trophonius and Agamedes. He finds, however, the neighbouring Castalian spring occupied by a fierce dragon, the terror of the surrounding country, the same monster to whom Juno had committed the guardianship of her own equally monstrous son Typhoeus. An episode follows describing the birth of this unnatural offspring of the divine queen. Apollo destroys the dragon, and from the stench of its carcass the animal and the oracle receive the common name of Pytho, the god his title of Pythian. Indignant at the deceit practised on him by the Tilphussian nymph, in suppressing all mention of the dragon, he returns into Bœotia; and, after marring the beauty of her fountain by heaping rocks on the issue of its waters, he builds an altar to himself by its side. Hence his title of Tilphussian Apollo.

His next care is to provide ministers for his sanctuary. This honour he determines to confer on a crew of Cretan navigators, whose ship he descries afar off at sea on its voyage from Cnossus to Pylos. Assuming the form of a dolphin, he springs into the vessel, and by his supernatural agency propels her against the will of the pilot, past her previous destination, to the port of Crissa. Here, assuming his natural form, he reveals himself to the mariners, announces their own future lot, and accompanies them in festive procession from the shore to the sanctuary, which, in honour of his late disguise, acquires the surname of Delphian, the god that of Delphinian. On establishing his ministers in their sacred abode, he promises to make up its lack of fertility by a rich revenue of pious offerings, so long as their own conduct shall be such as to merit his favour and confidence. "But should ever the purity of life indispensable to his ministry be stained by vice or impiety, they will forfeit all claim to his protection, and be for ever subjected to the discipline of other severe and unrelenting taskmasters."

Its age.

This concluding passage of the hymn sheds a ray of clear light on the date of its composition, or at least marks out the limits of the earliest period to which it can be assigned. The presidency of the Pythian oracle was originally held by the town

of Cirrha or Crissa, situated about half-way between the port of the same name and the sanctuary. About the 46th Olympiad[1] (595 B.C.), the Crissæans were accused and condemned by the Amphictyons of impiety and abuse of their functions, which, after a ten years' contest, called the Sacred War, were transferred to Delphi, the town which had sprung up around the site of the temple. Crissa itself was destroyed, and its inhabitants reduced to slavery. To this fatality it is, there can be no doubt, that the prophetic warning alludes, so emphatically uttered by Apollo at the close of his address to the members of the infant Crissæan colony. The hymn cannot, therefore, be dated, unless credit be given to the author himself for a large share of Pythian inspiration, prior to the XLIXth Olympiad (585 B.C.). It may, probably, be an early commemoration of the above catastrophe.

Connexion with Delian hymn

8. While the want of connexion between the close of the Delian and the commencement of the Pythian hymn affords one among other arguments against their having originally formed an entire work, there is a certain abruptness in the introductory lines of the latter, as it now stands, which seems equally incompatible with their having formed the exordium to an altogether independant poem. This anomaly is owing, probably, to the proper preamble of the Pythian hymn having been lopped off to facilitate the combination of the two. Upon the middle view, however, above suggested, of two originally separate hymns habitually recited in succession, the incongruity would be less striking. The formula with which the Delian hymn

[1] Clint. F. H. ad an.; conf. Paus. x. xxxvii. 4. sqq.; Pauly, Real-Encycl. d. class. Wiss. vol. II. p. 902. sq.

concludes, a declaration by the poet that "he will not cease from celebrating Apollo," by announcing a continuation of the general subject, serves both as introduction to the following and epilogue to the previous composition. It has, indeed, been surmised that these two odes ought to be considered, in their original form, as rivals rather than sisters; composed, the one for the Delian, the other for the Pythian, festival, in vindication of their respective claims to priority of honour and distinction. This opinion, however, need not interfere with that of the two poems having been habitually recited as a connected series. In whatever spirit of independance, or even of rivalry, they may have been originally composed, they illustrate, each distinctly and without any such collision as to detract from their combined effect, two separate stages in the life of their common hero. The outline and general conduct of the narrative in each are also marked by so close and curious a correspondence, as abundantly proves the one to have been composed with the model of the other before its author. In each the divine protagonist, who in the Delian hymn is properly Latona, in the Pythian hymn Apollo himself, wanders in quest of a permanent seat. In each the search is at first in vain, owing to the unfavourable or inhospitable nature of the countries visited. In each the action opens with a description of the court of Olympus, and the honours enjoyed by Phœbus in its halls; and concludes with an apostrophe from the mythical to the real history of the localities celebrated. In each[1] the same figure of poetical rhetoric forms the transition from the introductory to the historical portion of the narrative. The dia-

[1] Del. 19.; Pyth. 29.

logue between the god and Tilphussa, in the Pythian hymn, however different in its results, is also closely analogous in general style and tendency to that between Latona and Delos; while the mode in which Apollo meets the expostulations of his Cretan ministers, on the rugged sterility of their new residence, finds its close parallel in the promises of Latona to Delos to make amends for the same natural disadvantage of her soil.

Style and composition.

The fable of this poem offers a greater variety of adventure than that of the Delian hymn. The action is, upon the whole, well conceived and conducted. The long episode of Typhoeus, however, though not inconsistent with the Homeric standard of art in a regular epic poem, is too bulky an excrescence on so short a composition. An unreasonably large portion of the narrative is also devoted to geographical descriptions. Some of these are both spirited and correct, exhibiting a personal knowledge of the localities, with episodical notices of curious and interesting matters of local custom or mythology. Others are broadly inaccurate[1], with evident symp-

[1] Ocalea is placed between Onchestus and Haliartus (64.); its real site being between Haliartus and Delphi. The god is also made to cross the Cephissus at Ocalea, a town many miles distant from any part of the course of that river. The anomalies of Crissæan or Delphic topography (vv. 91—104.) are common to other authors, originating in the twofold confusion between the sacred town and port of Crissa, and between Crissa and the actual site of the temple. The ship, in its course along the western shore of Peloponnesus, is also made to pass the inland towns of Æpy and Thryum, obviously from the author's anxiety to string together Homeric names. A glance at any good map will show how strangely the other sites are confounded. The notes of the modern commentators to 250. (ed. Frank.) afford good evidence how essential a knowledge of Greek topography is to the critic of Greek literature. The highest summit of Ithaca, supposed by them to overtop the neighbouring ridge of Cefalonia, is a mere hill in comparison with Mount Ænos of the latter island.

toms of servile adoption and misapplication of parallel portions of Homer's topography. Another peculiarity of this hymn is its etymological tendency. Most of the principal occurrences have been made to supply punning interpretations of the various titles of the god, or of his favourite sanctuaries. This is a species of pleasantry which, partially countenanced by the example of Homer, has, as frequently happens, been carried to a vicious extreme by some of his copyists. The derivation of the name Pytho from the stench of the dragon is as poetically mean as it is historically false. The illustrative and descriptive details of the poem consist in a great measure of Homeric commonplace. Several passages, however, are distinguished for originality as well as beauty. The opening picture of the joyous life of the gods in Olympus is brilliant and graphic, and the apostrophe to the comparatively low state of mortals on earth is in a happy spirit of contrast. The fable of the divine dolphin hurrying the unwilling navigators past their previous destination to the port of the god is well conceived and well told; and derives additional interest from its connexion with the natural history of this coast [1], where the animal abounds and is the hero of numerous other mythical adventures. But the figure of the mysterious fish actually springing out of the sea, and, stretched like a bag of ballast in the hold, constraining the course of the ship, is less appropriate than if the god had been made to exercise his influence from his adopted element. The episode of Typhoeus, however out of proportion to the main narrative, is in itself a spirited version of thi obscure mythical allegory. The prevailing style of

[1] See the author's Journal of a Tour in Greece, vol. i. p. 173.

language and versification is more purely Homeric than that of the preceding hymn, and the non-Homeric phrases are comparatively rare. The whole, in fact, is marked, both as to expression and allusion, by a superior tone of epic antiquity. The few deficiencies or corruptions in the body of the text, whether owing to time or the license of transcribers, are not such as to interfere with the general continuity of the narrative.[1]

HYMN TO HERMES.

Hymn to Hermes.

9. The poem opens with the usual homage of praise to the god, and a short account of the amour of Jupiter with the Cyllenian nymph, Maia, to which Hermes owed his birth. The poet then passes on to the immediate subject of his song; the exploit by which the infant deity established his renown as God of Theft and Intrigue, and which led to his subsequent alliance and good-fellowship with his brother Apollo.

Within a few hours after his birth, the divine urchin plans an expedition to plunder a herd of the sacred cattle of Apollo on the slopes of Pieria, in order to stock his native pastures of Arcadia. Slipping slily out of his cradle, he stumbles, at the threshold of his mother's cave, upon a tortoise. Struck with the valuable invention the materials for which had thus spontaneously offered themselves, and with the advantage to be derived from it in the sequel of his enterprise, he returns to the cave, scoops out the body of the tortoise, converts the shell into a lyre, and hides it in a corner of his cradle. He then resumes his journey. Reaching Pieria about sunset, he selects fifty head of oxen and drives them off during the

[1] In 31. for *ὀπτόσ' ἀνωόμενος* read *ὔπτως μνωόμενος*, the genuine Homeric form in such cases; conf. Il. x. 545., xvi. 113. The harmony of the narrative, which seems to be wanting between 174. and 175., may be restored by marking a pause and division of paragraphs after the former line. Verse 175. would thus be an appropriate resumption of the interrupted subject.

night, backwards, with their tails in the direction of their course, concealing his own footmarks by wrapping his feet in a thick coat of sedge and brushwood. Unobserved but by a vinedresser of Onchestus, on whom he enjoins secrecy, he arrives in Arcadia by daybreak, and houses his booty in a cave on the banks of Alpheus, after slaughtering a pair for immediate use. He then returns to his mother's cavern, glides through the keyhole of the door, and nestles himself in his cradle. His absence had not been unobserved by Maia, who chides him for his boldness, and predicts the trouble in which his roguery will involve her.

The bereaved god in the meanwhile discovers his loss, and proceeds in quest of his plundered stock. Guided by the information of the garrulous Onchestian peasant, and his own prophetic art, he speedily traces the offender to his hiding-place, where he is discovered enveloped in swaddling clothes, and in all the assumed graces of infantine innocence and unconsciousness. The offence is strenuously denied, and the accused party appeals to the tribunal of Jupiter. Both plaintiff and defendant proceed accordingly to Olympus, where the hearing of the cause creates great mirth in the divine circle. Jupiter pronounces that Hermes, as a test of the sincerity of his disclaimer, shall, laying aside all guile, aid Apollo in the search after his lost property. The order is complied with; but, on reaching the receptacle of the stolen goods, Mercury produces his lyre, and so fascinates Apollo by its strains as to induce him at once, not only to cede all right to his cattle in return for so precious an acquisition, but to bestow other handsome presents on the inventor of the instrument, in earnest of reconciliation and future friendship. These gifts consist of a golden wand of office, and the services of three prophetic nymphs of Parnassus, by whose agency Hermes will be enabled, indirectly, to exercise the oracular functions of Phœbus, which the same decree of Jove that bestowed them on Apollo himself had prohibited him from directly imparting to any other deity. Before finally concluding the bargain, however, Apollo exacts from his brother an oath by the river Styx, not only that he will not steal the lyre back again, but that the entire property of the Pythian sanctuary and its owner shall, in all time coming, be exempt from Mercurial depredation.

This hymn, while a work of very different character from either of those above examined, and in-

ferior to both in dignity of subject or treatment, surpasses them greatly in originality and in ethic and dramatic spirit. Much of the humour of the poem consists in the same vein of contrast which runs through the religious, or, in other words, the whole primitive, comedy of Greece: between the abstract dignity of the celestial nature, and the anomalies consequent on its investment with human attributes; between the Herculean exploits of the divine urchin, and his baby form and habits; between his precocious boldness and ready wit, and his childish waywardness and simplicity. Such a combination of conflicting qualities, in a mere human hero, were incapable obviously of being worked up with any effect into the burlesque. It is the supernatural element of the subject which alone gives point and seasoning to an otherwise palpable extravagance. Hermes, in his capacity of god, is gifted from the first moment of his existence with divine power and energy. As the patron deity of cunning and intrigue, he is at once qualified to compete with and surpass even Apollo, hitherto considered as unrivalled in those arts. Still, as a member of the Hellenic pantheon, he is subjected to the natural drawbacks of humanity, and, by consequence, at his birth to those of infancy. The obligation, therefore, to perform, through the agency of his imbecile human personality, the mighty deeds by which he is ambitious, on his appearance in the world, at once to assert his rank among his fellow-gods, is what forms the essential spirit of the jest.

10. The poem is in itself a very unequal composition. The first part of the narrative, allowance being made for corruptions of the text, is well con-

nected, replete with dramatic effect, and with touches of drollery and repartee, in a very characteristic vein of Hellenic humour. Among the passages of this kind may be quoted the address of the little god to the tortoise at their meeting, expressing his childish delight at her so readily offering herself as a victim to the success of his first enterprise. In the dialogue between Apollo and the vinedresser, the display of affected reserve and indifference, combined with garrulous self-importance, on the part of the latter, when divulging the secret intrusted to him, shadows forth, in a very happy manner, the shrewd genius of the Greek peasant. According to Hesiod, the babbler was severely punished for his indiscretion.[1] In the first interview between the divine brothers, the ready effrontery with which the little culprit, from his cradle, repels the charge brought against him, is also in a lively vein of drollery; and the sequel of the scene in the cavern, from v. 296. downwards, though hardly defensible on the score of propriety, is in good keeping with the burlesque tendency of the whole fable. Throughout the scenes in the cave of Maia, the pastoral rudeness of the mountain nymph's abode is contrasted, in the same comic spirit, with the riches stored up in its treasure-house for the support of her divine dignity.[2] The nursery of the god, with its furniture and internal economy, is also brought home to the imagination with much truth and little effort. From the conclusion, however, of the proceedings before the Olympian tribunal, which are also conducted with some spirit, both action and description flag. The long conversation between Hermes and Apollo concerning

[1] Marcksch. frg. 165. [2] 248. sqq.; conf. 61.

their respective functions, and the complimentary harangues to each other on the adjustment of their quarrel, are as deficient in interest of matter, as liveliness of manner. The elegant figure employed by Hermes to illustrate the union between the sweetness of the lyre and the skilful touch of the artist[1], so closely parallel to a passage of Shakspeare's Hamlet, with the oath against future depredation[2], form almost the only relief to the general monotony.

This inequality of character in different parts of the poem, with a certain amount of incoherence in the details of the text, has afforded a more plausible opening, perhaps, than usual, to the customary speculations[3] as to an original incongruity of component elements. Neither consideration, however, can afford any solid ground for such conclusions. The incidental anomalies of structure are sufficiently explained by the corruptions of time or transcript, to which, in common with most others in the collection, this hymn has been subjected. It happens also, that, as in the case of the Iliad, the condemned parts of the text, in the late schemes for its reconstruction, comprehend almost every one of the passages which really constitute the main pith and spirit of the action; the leaven, as it were, of the whole lump.[4] The inferiority of the concluding portion of the hymn may be more naturally laid to the

[1] 482. sqq. [2] 514. sqq. 523.; conf. 178.

[3] Matthiæ, Prolegg. ad Hymn. p. 35. sqq.; Herm. Epist. ad Ilgen. p. xli. sqq.

[4] Such are, the adventure with the tortoise and invention of the lyre; the retrograde driving of the oxen; the conversation between Bacchus and the vinedresser; the burlesque scene in 294. sqq.; with 265. sqq., 273. sqq., and many other lively sallies of the comic humour of the little god or his poet. Matth. Proleg. ad Hymn. p. 40. sqq.; Herm. Epist. ad Ilgen. sup. cit.

charge of a single author than of two. It consists chiefly, or solely, in the absence of those humorous scenes in which alone the genius of the poet qualified him to excel. The winding up of the subject, after the reconciliation of the two litigants, while in itself indispensable, offers materials of comparatively grave or commonplace character, no way adapted to the genius which succeeded so much better in the first part of the hymn. All, therefore, that can reasonably be inferred is, that, while the author had the art to enliven subjects in harmony with the peculiar bent of his own talent, he wanted, like other more distinguished writers, the judgement to abridge or abstain from such as were foreign to it. He has, accordingly, clogged the more spirited portion of his narrative with a tedious accumulation of concluding details, reconciliatory courtesies, and interchange of compliments between the two gods, of which a very small share would have sufficed for the required object.[1]

The other objection urged to the original integrity of the hymn, that the story of the tortoise, with the invention of the lyre, stands in no just connexion with the robbery of the oxen, the real subject of the narrative, is altogether groundless. In no work of the kind is the action conceived in a more complete or more delicate spirit of unity. The scope, both poetical and mythical, of the narrative was obviously twofold. It was not merely to establish the credit of the infant god as patron of Intrigue and Theft

[1] That the popular legend originally extended to all these details is further evident from Apollodorus (III. x. 2.), whose abstract comprises the whole substance of the story abridged probably from this very hymn.

by the robbery of the shrewdest of his divine relatives, but to illustrate the origin of the joint sanctuary of the two deities at Delphi.[1] The mere detection of the theft, and restitution of the cattle, would have been but a lame or even a dishonourable winding up for the hero of the hymn. The cession of the plundered property, without an equivalent, would have been equally discreditable to Phœbus. It was, therefore, indispensable in the spirit of the piece, that means should be found of accommodating the dispute on terms honourable to each party. For this object, an elegant expedient suggested itself in another celebrated feat of Mercury, the invention of the lyre, the favourite instrument of Apollo, and the acquisition of which, by the latter deity, could not fail to lay him under a heavy debt of gratitude to the donor.[2]

Dialectical peculiarities.

The style of this hymn, especially of its first and more spirited portion, is marked by greater originality than that of any other poem in the collection. Its humour is of a description peculiar to itself, quaint and sententious, often coarse, widely different from the genial pleasantry of the Odyssey. Nor, indeed, with the usual amount of Homeric mannerism, is there any direct trace of an ambition either to imitate or emulate Homer. In order rightly to appreciate certain idiomatic peculiarities of this comic vein of expression, a greater insight would be necessary, than we possess, into the nursery and schoolboy

[1] Plainly hinted also in 172, 173.

[2] The old commentators accordingly, with a better insight into the genius of their own literature, dwell pointedly on this transaction as essential both to the spirit and the unity of the adventure. Bekk. Anecd. Gr. p. 752.

vocabulary of Greece[1], upon which much of the spirit of the urchin deity's humour seems to depend. There are also various, properly dialectical, peculiarities, which shed light on the origin of the work and the native country of its author. These are, in great part, Hesiodic idioms, betraying the usage of an Æolian, probably an Arcadian or Bœotian, poet. The parallel passages in which those idioms occur, at intervals, throughout the hymn, are in themselves strong arguments of its substantial integrity of authorship.[2] The familiar allusion to the seven

[1] Verses 378. sqq., for example, have been condemned by some of the commentators above cited, on account of the very peculiarities probably which really constitute the principal value of the passage; and in 385., *νηλέα φωνήν*, to all appearance a Greek baby phrase, stigmatising Apollo as a telltale, has been corrupted into *ν. φώρην* in some of the printed texts.

[2] Among the traces of Æolism, the more remarkable are v. 106. *ἀθρόᾰς οὖσας*, v. 133. *περῆν*. The latter term modern commentators have corrupted into *περᾶν*, the former into *ἀθρὸ' ἰούσας*. In v. 172. the present reading, *ἀμφί*, was probably *ἄμμε*, restoring the now deficient sense and syntax of the passage (conf. 465., and Od. VII. 223.). Another Æolism would be *φή* in v. 241. if Hermann's here very reasonable correction be admitted. As examples of Hesiodic phraseology may be cited, the title *Λητοΐδης* for Apollo, unexampled in Homer or the remaining Homeric poems, but which occurs six times in this hymn, and twice in Hesiod; and the phrases *ἀμαρύσσω*, *ἀμαρυγή*, *τετράς*, *κᾶλα*, *φηλήτης*, *γηρύομαι*, *θαυματὰ ἔργα*; all common to the hymn and to Hesiod, unknown to Homer. Those of *γέροντα κνώδαλον* and *θῆλυς ἀϋτμή* are also in character, if not to the letter, purely Hesiodic (Theog. 696., Scut. Herc. 395.); and the homely proverb in 36. occurs in the "Works and Days" of Hesiod, 363. Other peculiarities of idiom are, the use of *αἰών*, singular and plural, in the sense of intestine or vital parts; of *κραίνω* and *ἐπικραίνω* (vv. 427. 531. 559.), in the sense of "celebrate;" v. 28. *σαῦλα ποσὶν βαίνουσα*; 149. *ἧκα ποσὶν προβιβᾶν*. Add the following non-Homeric contractions, 173. *κἀγώ*, 382. *φιλῶ*, 405. *ἐξύνω*, &c. Among the apparent anomalies of syntax, some may be remedied by change of punctuation. Thus in 80. read *ἄφραστ' · ἠδ' ἀνόητα* . . . . In v. 240. the punctuation

ὣς Ἑρμῆς Ἐκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀλέεινε· ἓ αὐτὸν
ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε.

would give sense, though adding another peculiarity of idiom to those already chargeable on the author.

strings of the lyre[1] combines with other considerations to establish the date of the poem as posterior to the age of the Lesbian Terpander, who first brought this more improved form of the instrument into popular use, in the early part of the seventh century B.C.

HYMN TO APHRODITE.

Hymn to Aphrodite.

11. The opening lines of this poem celebrate the power and influence of

The goddess to whom all the inhabitants of earth and heaven bow submissive, with the exception of the three virgin deities Pallas, Diana, and Vesta. The two former despise her authority, devoted, the one to martial adventure and elegant art, the other to the pleasures of the chase and of pastoral life. The latter resists her influence, as incompatible with her own chosen office of guarding the purity of the sanctuary and the domestic hearth.

Jupiter, indignant at the haughty manner in which Venus exercises her sway, in subjecting even himself to the trammels, not merely of heavenly but terrestrial love, resolves that she shall in her turn undergo a like humiliation. He, accordingly, inspires her with an ardent passion for the young Dardanian prince Anchises, then tending his flocks on Mount Ida. Arrayed in all her charms, she appears before the hero in his rustic dwelling, in the assumed character of a daughter of Otreus king of Phrygia, and describes how she had been impelled by the irresistible decree of Fate to present herself as his destined spouse. She entreats him, therefore, to conduct her unscathed to the dwelling of his parents, in order that, if satisfied to accept her as their daughter-in-law, they may celebrate the marriage with the accustomed rites. Anchises joyfully accedes to the proffered alliance, but, inflamed with love, insists on the consummation of the nuptials preceding the sacred function. To this proposal, with ill-disguised willingness, she consents. In the sequel she discloses herself; appeals, in proof of the ardour of her affection, to the shame that will attend her return to Olympus after having submitted to mortal embraces; and, apostrophising the unhappy fate of his kinsman Tithonus, laments the cruel destiny which prohibits her from

[1] v. 51.

gifting him with immortality and perpetual youth, and presenting him as her lawful spouse in the divine circle. At parting she dwells on the favour hitherto shown by the gods to the royal race to which he belongs, as an earnest of her constant attachment to himself, and predicts the fame and dominion which Æneas, the future issue of their love, is destined to enjoy.

This hymn is by far the best poem in the whole collection; unsurpassed, perhaps, by any similar production in any age or country. Although there may not be critical grounds for ascribing it to Homer, it were scarcely unworthy of his genius in general merit; while there is little in the details, either of language or historical allusion, seriously repugnant to its claims to such an honour. The author has treated a licentious subject, not merely with grace and elegance, but with an entire freedom from meretricious ornament. No where in the Greek mythology does the goddess of love appear under more pleasing colours than in this adventure, described by herself as the transaction of her life most derogatory to her divine honour. The reproach of capricious indulgence, by a deity of highest rank, in a degrading passion, is removed by an appropriate application of the usual expedient, the stern law of Fate as administered by Jupiter; and, apart from her actual submission to that law, her conduct is free from all taint of levity. The mixture of gallantry and amorous impetuosity in Anchises is admirably portrayed. The terms in which he announces his resolution to assert, at all hazards, his rights as lover, in anticipation of those of husband, are perhaps more purely Homeric, in conception, style, and versification, than any extant passage beyond the margin of the Iliad or Odyssey. The episode of Tithonus

and Aurora also embodies, in a singularly effective manner, both the moral and poetical features of that beautiful fable. The state of utter inanition to which the once vigorous hero was reduced by the fatal neglect of Aurora to secure for him from Jove, together with the boon of immortality, an exemption from the evils of old age; his feeble attenuated voice and shrunken helpless frame; with the affectionate solicitude of his divine mistress to alleviate the wretchedness of his lot, are all described with inimitable grace and tenderness.[1]

It has been justly remarked[2], that this composition, though classed by the custom of later ages under the title of hymn, really partakes more of the nature of a poem in honour of the Dardanian race of princes; of those personal graces especially, which obtained them so large a share of amorous attention on the part of the gods. The simple purity of its style, with the general tenor of its historical allusions, also vouch for its great antiquity. The conjecture, therefore, naturally arises, that the hymn may have been composed by an Æolian Homerid, as a tribute of respect to the accredited descendants of Æneas, who still held sway in the valleys of Mount Ida. This view is further justified by a comparison of the prophecy by Venus of future dominion to Æneas, with the like prediction by Neptune in the

[1] The poet is here guilty of a very curious anachronism, in describing Tithonus as already, in the youth of Anchises, reduced by extreme old age to second infancy. Tithonus, as brother of Priam, was coeval with Anchises, and must therefore have been still in the vigour of manhood, or even of youth, at the epoch of this adventure. Homer, accordingly, in the Iliad, makes Aurora, a generation later, "rise out of the bed of Tithonus," as her still vigorous husband.

[2] Matthiæ, Prolegg. ad Hymn. p. 67.

twentieth book of the Iliad, of which this passage of the hymn is an evident paraphrase.

The superiority of this hymn to its fellows consists not merely in its own excellence, but its better state of preservation; a property indispensable, in some degree, to that ease and elegance of style and numbers by which it is distinguished.

HYMN TO CERES.

Hymn to Ceres.

12. Jupiter having consented that Proserpine shall become the spouse of Pluto, and queen of the infernal regions, her destined husband, issuing with his chariot from a chasm in the earth, seizes her while sportively flower-gathering with other nymphs on the Nyseïan plain, and carries her off to his subterranean kingdom. Ceres, in the distance, hears her cries, and, ignorant of her real fate, wanders distractedly over the face of the earth in search of her lost child. At length, through the good offices of Hecate, she discovers the author and the motive of the outrage.

Distressed and indignant, above all at the treacherous and heartless conduct of Jupiter, she absents herself from Olympus, preferring to indulge her affliction among the haunts of men. Sitting alone one day by the side of a well in the neighbourhood of Eleusis, disguised as a female of the middle class, she is accosted by the daughters of Celeus, a chief of that district, who sympathise with her sorrow, and offer her an asylum in their paternal dwelling. She is kindly received by Celeus and his wife Metanira, and her melancholy is relieved by the lively jests of Iambe the humorous waiting-maid of the damsels. In return for the hospitality afforded her, she undertakes the office of nurse to Demophon the infant son of her host, and, inspired by gratitude to her benefactors, determines to confer on the babe the gift of immortality. For this purpose she feeds him with ambrosia by day, and makes his bed in the vestal fire of the palace hall by night. Her intention, however, is frustrated by the imprudent curiosity of Metanira, who detecting her in the performance of the mysterious ceremony, and terrified for the safety of her infant, alarms the household with her screams, and dissolves the charm. The goddess then reveals herself, chides Metanira for her interference, but promises at least a full share of mortal prosperity to

her young pupil. She then commands them to build her a place of worship, where her rites shall in future be solemnised according to a form to be prescribed by herself, and bids them farewell.

Her orders are devoutly obeyed by the Eleusinians, and she takes up her abode in her new sanctuary. In the meanwhile universal sterility pervades the earth. Jove, alarmed for the safety of the human species, sends Iris to invite the offended goddess to a conference in Olympus. But she steadfastly resists all conciliatory advances until her daughter shall have been restored to her. Jupiter then despatches Hermes to Erebus, with a request that Pluto will permit his spouse to revisit the earth. The infernal god complies, and Proserpine returns to her mother. In the end it is agreed that she shall, in future, pass two thirds of the year above ground with her mother, the remainder with her husband in the lower regions. The earth then resumes its fertility, and Ceres institutes her sacred mysteries at Eleusis.

Although the form in which this hymn is embodied admits of its being ranked under the mythical head of composition, the subject partakes largely also of the mystical character. It exhibits, in fact, under poetical disguise, the fundamental doctrine of the Eleusinian mysteries. Much of its allegory, as depending on a better knowledge than can now be hoped for, even of the less recondite portion of those rites, must remain a dead letter to the modern reader. The general outline, however, of the adventure; the descent of the daughter of Ceres to the infernal region, the sterility of the earth during her absence, the renewal of vegetation on her return, and the decree that she shall dwell two thirds of the year above and the remainder below ground; interprets itself very obviously of the vicissitudes of the natural year, of the consignment of the seed to the soil, and its reappearance as crop in its season, of the failure of the vegetation during the winter

months, and its restoration in spring and summer.[1] Such materials, even under the most ingenious disguise of human persons or adventures, are but little adapted for poetical treatment. Hence, although the action is of a more tragic character than that of the other epic hymns, and the author is at some pains to heighten its pathetic effect, it fails to excite any warm sympathy. The woes of a disconsolate mother, type of an adverse harvest, mourning over the loss of a daughter, emblematic of a failure in the seed, or the outrages committed on such a heroine by a ravisher representing the soil during the period of germination, however touchingly described, can but little affect the feelings even of the most tender-hearted audience.

Its state of preservation.

13. This poem, preserved in a single manuscript, labours, to an equal or perhaps still greater degree than its predecessors of the collection, under the disadvantage of a corrupt text; teeming, not only with errors of transcript, but with gaps or mutilations, extending, in some instances, over a space of many lines. More than usual scope has thus been given to the efforts of modern commentators, to set aside its claim to original integrity of composition. That the existing poem differs in some essential particulars from the same or a similar composition current during the Roman empire appears from various passages of Pausanias. That author, while quoting from a Ho-

[1] In the more esoteric mysteries there can be little doubt that under the same image was figured the immortality of the soul, in connexion perhaps with the metempsychosis, the successive growth, death, and renovation of created life. A closely similar figure is adopted in the New Testament: "That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.... Thou sowest not the body that shall be, but bare grain.... So also is the resurrection of the dead." 1 Cor. xv. 35. sqq.

meric hymn to Ceres, popular in his own day, several verses still read in that now extant[1], cites, as from the same work, a passage not only no longer to be found in the existing text, but at variance with its contents. The daughters of Celeus are described in that quotation as three in number, called Diogenia, Pammerope, and Sæsara[2]; while in this hymn four are enumerated, under the names of Callidice, Clisidice, Demo, and Callithoë.[3] The discrepancy, however, can afford no reasonable ground for any further inference than that the text has been subjected to alteration; and this seems to be proved by the fact, that in the sequel of the narrative[4] three damsels only are mentioned, as in the version of Pausanias. It seems, indeed, natural, that compositions of this class should be liable to changes in the proper names and other incidental details, to suit the taste or current tradition of different localities. While the actual deficiencies of the existing text extend but to matters of detail, which the imagination of the reader has little difficulty in supplying, the epic action of the hymn possesses not only a full historical continuity, but a poetical unity in close conformity with the Homeric standard. The main subject is the Anger of Ceres, its origin and consequences; and the narrative proceeds upon this basis, in its chain of cause and effect, from the com-

[1] 154. in I. xxxviii. 3., 474—476. in II. xiv. 2., 417. sqq. in IV. xxx. 3

[2] I. xxxviii. 3.

[3] 108. sqq.; Frank. ad loc.; conf. Matthiæ, Prolegg. p. 77. sqq. It appears from Pausanias locc. citt. (conf. IX. xxxi. 6., I. xxxix.), that in his time there were extant hymns ascribed both to Homer and Pamphos, in which this adventure of the goddess was treated in substantially the same manner, but with incidental diversities of detail. This might naturally lead both to confusion in his citations, and to varieties of reading in the text of the works.

[4] 285. sqq.

mencement to the conclusion, with as much regularity as the action of the Iliad follows out the anger of Achilles. The indignation of the goddess, at the treatment of her daughter, produces her resolution to suspend her functions until satisfaction be obtained. The calamities consequent on her sullen rejection of all offers of reconciliation constrain Jove to give way and submit to a compromise. Nor is there any episodical excrescence liable to censure. Besides the poetical scope of the action, the restoration of Proserpine to her mother, there is also a historical scope, in the foundation of the Eleusinian sanctuary and mysteries. These two objects are blended in a very ingenious manner, by means of the asylum afforded the goddess in the family of Celeus.

Style. The style of the narrative is unequal; sometimes dry, like the subject, even laboured and affected, sometimes rapid and spirited. The despair of the bereaved parent, and her morbid disconsolate state during the year of separation, are portrayed with a truth and feeling which would do justice to a more real calamity. Her first interview with the kind-hearted Eleusinian damsels, and the description of their sportive eagerness to serve the afflicted stranger, are well worked up, and, on the whole, perhaps the most agreeable part of the narrative. The dialogue is occasionally spirited, but the illustrative imagery labours under the same tone of mysticism common to the action. The attribute of the Golden Sword ascribed to Ceres (with Homer proper to Apollo) is, in its literal import, either senseless or inappropriate, and can only be defended on the plea of some symbolic signification. The lively opening scene, where Proserpine is surprised

sporting on the flowery meadow, is marred by the monstrous hyperbole of the hundred-headed narcissus, which the infernal ravisher causes to spring up in order to beguile his victim away from her companions, and which she is in the act of grasping "with both hands" at the moment of her seizure. The introduction of Styx and Pallas among the attendant nymphs of the heroine, who sport with her on the meadow, savours more of the mystical than the poetical. The refusal by Ceres of the ordinary cup of welcome[1], with the substitution in its stead of the mysterious potion administered to the initiated in the Eleusinian rites, also imparts an unnatural effect to the otherwise interesting account of her hospitable reception in the hall of Celeus. The charm of the pomegranate seed, on the swallowing of which the ultimate fate of Proserpine depends[2], and the allegorical virtue of which is lost to the modern reader, partakes, poetically considered, more of Oriental tale than of Greek epic legend. There can be little doubt, however, from the mysterious and inexplicit tone of the allusion to this ceremony, that it formed part of the more recondite secrets of the sanctuary, on which the poet did not venture to enlarge.[3] The episode of the infant Demophon, in spite of its essentially mystical character, is not deficient in poetical effect.

Dialectical peculiarities and age.

On grounds of internal evidence this hymn may advance reasonable claims to antiquity. Its dialect and general phraseology are, with the exception of a few contracted forms, Homeric; and the story,

[1] 207. [2] 372. 412

[3] Conf. Pausan, II. xvii. 4.; Lobeck, Agl. p. 704.

though treating of a subject so nearly connected with Athens, contains no trace of later Athenian fable. Eleusis, as a town, can hardly have been of much importance till after Homer's time, not being mentioned even in the Catalogue of the Iliad; yet the antiquity of the rites there celebrated cannot be doubted[1], nor their extension at an early period, probably by the original emigrants, to the Ionian colonies. Still, however, it is not likely that all the more subtle local details of the solemnity should have attained, prior to the rise of Athenian ascendancy about the time of Solon or the Pisistratidæ, so complete a maturity as that in which they appear in the action of this poem. This consideration, with the Attic tendency of the few non-Homeric idioms in the text[2], renders it probable that the author may have been an Attic Homerid of that period.

THE HYMN TO DIONYSUS.

Hymn to Dionysus.

14. The youthful deity is surprised asleep on the shore by Tyrrhenian navigators, who seize and carry him off in their vessel.

[1] Pauly. Realwört. v. Eleusinia, p. 86.

[2] Such are ἐλεινός for ἐλεεινός, 284.; ἐρῶ for ἐρέω, 406.; κάρα for κάρατα, 12.; ἄλφι for ἄλφιτα, 208.; φόβῃς, 494.; and the Synizesis in τοκῆες· ἐμὲ δ' αὖτε, 137., common to Hesiod (Works, 261.; conf. 246.), but altered by Hermann and Franke into τοκῆες· ἐμ' αὖτε, contrary to both authority and syntax. Peculiar to this hymn is the epic idiom ὣς ἔφατο (316. 448.), subjoined to speeches of heroes or heroines reported in the poet's own words, not those of the speaker. These, with other parallel passages (83. sq. 363. 90. 306.), suffice in themselves to set aside the sceptical doctrine of different authors for the first and last portions of the hymn. There is no reason to assume any hiatus after 37. The text is quite consistent, as well remarked by Voss and Ilgen. In 262. read γῆρας for κῆρας, by reference to familiar usage and to the parallel of 242. 260.; in 344, 345. ἠδ' ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀτλήτοισι θεῶν; in 428. ὑπέρμορον for ὥσπερ κρόκον; in 479. with Hermann, ἄγος for ἄχος.

They attempt to bind him, but the fetters refuse their office. The god, seating himself on the deck, smiles contemptuously at their efforts. The pilot, presaging the supernatural character of the prisoner, urges his immediate restoration to liberty; but the captain bids his wiser comrade mind his own business, expressing a determination to obtain either a good price abroad for his prize, or a high ransom at home. Suddenly the ship is filled with prodigies. Wine gushes up from the hold. A vine, teeming with clustering grapes, curls around the sail, and ivy encircles the mast. The god himself assumes the form of a lion, and conjures up a shaggy bear as his ally. The lion seizes the captain; the crew, leaping into the sea, are changed into dolphins. The pilot alone is spared, and assured of the divine blessing in reward of his piety.

The narrative of this hymn is conceived in a tragi-comic spirit. The style, though correct and perspicuous, is concise and abrupt, sometimes even to laconism, as if the author were in a hurry to get through his subject. The versification and imagery are, however, simple and elegant. The action, though brief, is harmonious and connected, and the little dialogue introduced spirited and natural. Hence, as the text has escaped any serious mutilation, this hymn, within its own narrow limits, may rank as the most perfect work in the collection, next to the hymn to Venus.

The adventure here described is perhaps the most truly poetical in the mythical biography of Dionysus, being free from that wild semibarbarous mysticism which renders his remaining exploits less favourable materials for epic treatment. That its merits were appreciated by the artists, as well as the poets, of the best ages is evinced by the frieze of the elegant monument of Lysicrates, still existing at Athens; for the sculptures of which, now partly to be seen in the British Museum, it supplied the subject.

SHORTER HOMERIC HYMNS.

Shorter Hymns.

The remaining compositions, classed under the common title of Homeric Hymns, in number twenty-seven, are, with trifling exception, so much alike in character, and so devoid of interest either in respect to matter or style, as to offer little inducement to critical commentary. The greater portion of them, comprising each but a few lines, are little more than detached specimens of those introductory or valedictory commonplaces which form the prologue or epilogue of the more bulky members of the collection. The address to Mercury, occupying the whole of hymn XVII., is a nearly literal repetition of the exordium of the foregoing complete poem in honour of the same god. Others, of somewhat greater length, comprising desultory descriptions of the origin and attributes of the divinities invoked, may have been from the first independant compositions, destined for individual recital, either in the public solemnities, or the more familiar rites of private conviviality. On these latter occasions, it appears, not only from the testimony of antient authors[1], but the internal evidence of the minor hymns, to have been customary to propitiate the deity by such short invocations, similar to the modern grace, both before and after the banquet. Many seem to have belonged to the class of proœmia prefixed by the rhapsodists to their extracts from Homer and other poets in the public recitals. Two

[1] Athen. XIV. p. 628.; conf. Plat. et Plutarch. in Symposs. alios.

alone[1], one to Pan, and another to Dionysus, partake each, in a small degree, of the epic character. The former, after the usual tribute of praise, offers a concise description of the birth of the cloven-footed god, and of the effect of his uncouth appearance, first on his own mother, and subsequently on Jove and the assembled deities, when presented at the court of Olympus. Pan is a god unknown apparently to either Homer or Hesiod; and of whose name or worship the first symptoms cannot be traced higher than the commencement of the 6th century B.C.[2] Of the remaining members of the collection, some are marked by a mystical or philosophical spirit, little compatible with their pretensions to Homeric origin, and which would better qualify them for a place among the works of the pseudo-Orpheus, or other poets of a later more artificial character. That to Mars[3] is of the purely philosophical order. The god is invoked as the figurative type of fortitude, endurance, and other similar virtues, in the moral rather than the martial sense.

The style of these minor compositions is characterised generally by the same monotony as their subject. Some consist of little more than strings of epithets. Among the more elegant may be quoted one to Artemis[4], another to the Tyndaridæ[5], as twin stars and patrons of navigation, and a third to Vulcan.[6] That to Pan also contains some agreeable passages.

[1] XIX. XXVI. Franke.
[2] Matth. Proleg. p. 101.
[3] VIII.
[4] XXVII.
[5] XXXIII.
[6] XX.

MISCELLANEOUS HOMERIC POEMS.

BATRACHOMYOMACHIA.

Batracho-myoma-chia.

15. A mouse, while slaking his thirst on the margin of a pond after a hot pursuit by a weasel, enters into conversation with a frog on the merits of their respective modes of life. The frog invites the mouse to a nearer inspection of the abode and habits of his own nation, and for this purpose offers him a sail on his back. When the party are at some distance from land, the head of an otter suddenly appears on the surface. The terrified frog at once dives to the bottom, disengaging himself from his rider, who, with many a struggle and bitter imprecations on his betrayer, is engulfed in a watery grave. Another mouse, who from the shore had witnessed the fate of his unfortunate comrade, reports it to his fellow-citizens. A council is held, and war declared against the nation of the offender.

Jupiter and the gods deliberate in Olympus on the issue of the contest. Mars and Minerva decline personal interference, as well from the awe inspired by such mighty combatants, as from previous ill-will towards both contending powers, in consequence of injuries inflicted by each on their divine persons or properties. A band of mosquitoes sound the war alarum with their trumpets, and, after a bloody engagement, the frogs are defeated with great slaughter. Jupiter, sympathising with their fate, endeavours in vain by his thunders to intimidate the victors from further pursuit. The rescue of the frogs, however, is effected by an army of land-crabs, who appear as their allies, and before whom the mice, in their turn, are speedily put to flight.

The Battle of the Frogs and Mice, as it is the earliest, is still perhaps the most successful, extant specimen of the "mock heroic." This style of poetical composition, so popular in modern times, and worked up to a high degree of perfection in many elaborate poems, seems to have been comparatively little in vogue among the antients. The text of the poem has been preserved in its substantial integrity, with

occasional corruptions or variations by editors and transcribers.[1]

The plot, if the term be here admissible, is well conceived and conducted; the dialogue is occasionally spirited, and the language and tone of the Iliad has been travestied with happy effect. The text, in fact, consists in a great measure of Homeric passages, humorously, and often very ingeniously, adapted to each other, and to the order and spirit of the narrative. The martial descriptions, while the closest, are perhaps the least successful, part of the parody. The vicissitudes of the fight are crowded and complicated, and, with the minuteness and repetition, have but little of the distinctness or variety of the genuine Homeric engagement. Much of the humour consists in the clever composition of the significant names of the contending heroes, especially of the mice; such as Lickdish, Cheesenibbler, Crumbsnatcher, Hamborer. These titles, together with the other allusions interspersed throughout the poem to the habits of the race, are the more interesting to the modern reader from the light they throw on many petty details of social life in the age from which the

[1] The actual amount of these anomalies has, however, been greatly exaggerated by modern critics, for behoof of the prevailing theories as to the interpolation or heterogeneous origin of all works partaking of the Homeric character. Hermann's enthusiasm for the Wolfian theory has, in its extension to this petty poem, reached a climax which amounts very much to a burlesque, or reductio ad absurdum, of the whole doctrine. Not content with pronouncing the Iliad and Odyssey, the Theogony, Works and Days, leading Homeric Hymns, and virtually every older and graver specimen of Greek epic art, to be atomic cohesions of once independant elements, he has even extended the benefit of this genial theory to the heroic legends of the Frogs and Mice; and has discovered the existing Batrachomyomachia to be a compound of a number of other older Batrachomyomachiæ, by its own particular "Pisistratus," of what particular æra he does not specify. Epist. ad Ilgen. p. xi.; Orph. p. 763.

poem has been transmitted. Among the choicer specimens of humour is the reply of Minerva to Jupiter, giving her reasons for declining interference in the combat, which are conceived in a very happy spirit of mixed Homeric and Aristophanic satire against the absurdities of the popular religion.

The Batrachomyomachia, while the work which, next to the Iliad and Odyssey, is most nearly associated with the name of Homer in the popular schools of classical literature, is yet perhaps the one, among those enjoying that honour, which bears the broadest traces of an age widely removed from that of the bard of Smyrna. The precise epoch of its composition can hardly, from internal evidence, be brought below the declining stages of Attic literature, or carried higher than the time of Æschylus; yet the earliest extant writers who allude to it are of a comparatively recent period of Roman antiquity.[1] According to Plutarch, followed by some inferior authorities, the real poet was Pigres[2] of Halicarnassus, who flourished during the Persian war; the same

[1] Martial, xiv. 183.; alios ap. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 414.

[2] Plutarch, de Herod. Malign. xliii.; Suid. v. Πίγρ; Tzetzes, Exeg. in Iliad. ed. Hermann. p. 37. Payne Knight (Proleg. § 6.), who yet allows it the 6th century B.C., lays stress, as evidence of no very high antiquity, on the familiar manner in which the art of writing is noticed; also on the mention of the cock as the harbinger of morning, an animal not alluded to by the early Greek writers. More to the purpose are the dialectical peculiarities. Such are the habitual employment of ὁ, ἡ, τό, as an ordinary article, in cases repugnant to primitive epic usage: 129. 131. 163. 227. 280. alibi; also the shortening of the vowel before mute and liquid, as the rule, wherever convenient, rather than the exception, even in cases where such license were scarcely admissible in the later Attic usage. Such are v. 148. πάντως δ' ἐπνίγη, 191. ἄϋπνος, 235. ἀπέπνιξε κρατήσας, 240. ἐξετύφλου, alibi. In several instances (conf. v. 28.) this anomaly might have been avoided, by expedients so natural and obvious as to imply that the critical editors considered it as characteristic of the work.

who interlarded the Iliad with pentameter verses, and to whom some also ascribed the Margites. That the Batrachomyomachia, however, is the work of an Attic Homerid may be inferred from the peculiarities of its style, which, in so far as broadly varying from the Homeric standard, have all an Attic tendency. Nor is there any trace of the poetical mannerism of the Alexandrian æra.

ADDRESS TO CUMA. EPITAPH ON MIDAS. CAMINUS. IRESIONE, ETC.

Address to Cuma.

In the life of Homer vulgarly ascribed to Herodotus are introduced a number of fugitive compositions, assumed to have been incidentally composed by the poet on appropriate occasions: epigrams on various subjects; brief descriptions of objects which fell under his notice during his wanderings; complaints of the hardship of his lot; invocations of the gods; addresses of gratitude to cities or persons by whom he had been hospitably treated, and of remonstrance or reproach where his reception had been different.

Some of these poems date, there is reason to believe, from an early period of Greco-Asiatic antiquity. Several embody in a poetical form, often in very agreeable style, the current traditions relative to the poet's age and country. More especially deserving of notice on this ground is his address to the inhospitable Cuma[1], couched in a pleasing tone of mournful complaint, and in good epic phraseology. Several of these pieces have been cited entire, or in parts, by respectable antient authors; among others, the enigmatical epigram on the tomb of Midas[2],

[1] Vit. Hom. Herod. XIV.; Hom. Op. Misc. ap. Franke, Epigr. IV.
[2] Vit. H. Herod. XI.; conf. Agon Hes. et Hom.; Op. Misc. Epigr. III.

by Plato[1], Longinus[2], and Simonides[3]; by the two former anonymously, while the latter ascribes it to Cleobulus of Lindus, a contemporary of Solon. The indignant address to the priestess of Samos[4] is said to have been quoted and applied by Sophocles to a mistress who had spurned his attentions on account of his advanced age.

Caminus. The most remarkable, however, of these poems is the "Caminus," or "Potter's oven,"[5] a form of poetical benediction on the batch of earthenware, when submitted to the furnace. Minerva, as the patroness of handicraftsmen, is invoked for a prosperous issue, and exorcisms are uttered against unfavourable influences. The bestowal of the blessing is, however, made conditional on a continuance by the master-workman of fair dealing with his customers in the disposal of the manufactured ware. In the contrary case, curses are substituted for blessings. These passages throw some curious light on the household mythology of the potter's profession. From a parallel passage of Hesiod[6] it appears that the practice of consecrating domestic earthenware was of great antiquity in Greece. The Bell Song of Schiller is conceived in a spirit closely akin to this pretty poem.

Iresione. Somewhat similar in character is the Iresione[7], a congratulatory ode addressed during the Feast of Apollo, by the youth of the lower class, to their patrons or employers. The choristers, bearing the propitiatory staff and chaplet of the god, appear in

[1] Plat. Phædr. p. 264. [2] Longin. § xxxvi.
[3] Ap. Diogen. Laert. i. 89.
[4] Op. Misc. xii.; Vit. II. Herod. xxx.; Athen. xiii. p. 592 a.
[5] Op. Misc. xiv.; Vit. II. Herodot. xxxii.; conf. Welck. Ep. C. p. 417.
[6] Opp. et D. 746. [7] Op. Misc. xv.; Vit. II. Herod. xxxiii.

festive procession in front of the gate, and, eulogising the wealth and munificence of the mansion and its inmates, supplicate a blessing on it from heaven, and a donation from its owner to themselves. The latter part of this poem is mutilated. It appears, however, like the Margites, another more celebrated apocryphal work of Homer, to have combined the iambic with the hexameter measure.

MISCELLANEOUS HOMERIC POEMS NOW LOST.

THE MARGITES.

16. Among the minor compositions ascribed to the author of the Iliad and Odyssey, the most remarkable, on numerous accounts, was the Margites, a work of a purely humorous character, satirising, it would seem, in a very broad vein of burlesque, the vices or frivolities of the wealthier class in the earlier stages of Græco-Asiatic society. These failings were portrayed chiefly in the habits and adventures of the hero of the piece, a silly conceited pedant and coxcomb, as his name, Margites, denotes. The circumstances which impart to this poem a stronger claim on attention than belongs to any other apocryphal work of the Homeric school, and render its loss the more to be lamented, are, first, the distinct manner in which it is ascribed, on several occasions, to Homer himself, the Homer of the Iliad and Odyssey, by the same Aristotle[1] who denies that honour to the Cypria and the Little Iliad; and, secondly, the mixture of hexameter and iambic measure in its text. There can be no reasonable question as to the literal acceptation of the name Homer in these passages of Aristotle. Apart

The Margites.

[1] Poetic. v. (Bipont); Ethic. Nicom. vi. 7.; Ethic. Eudem. v. 7.

from the evidence which his denial to those distinguished Homeric poems, of all claim to genuine Homeric honours, affords of the trifling limits allowed by him in such cases to mere conventional usage, the specific object and tenor of his allusion to this work exclude any doubt on the subject. The Margites is cited by him as the earliest extant specimen of pure comic composition; and as entitling Homer, by consequence, to the same honour of original invention in the comic branch of the Attic drama, which appertained to him as author of the Iliad and Odyssey in its more noble tragic department.

The great and general esteem and popularity which the Margites enjoyed in every age of Greek literature, and by which, consequently, it is also distinguished from other secondary works of the Homeric school, are further evinced, not only by the frequency of the ordinary appeals to its text, but by its having been eulogised, imitated, and commented by other critics only second in taste and authority to Aristotle himself.[1] As no place, however, appears to have been assigned to it by the side of the Iliad and Odyssey in the commentaries of the Alexandrian grammarians, it may be presumed that in this instance they had not subscribed to the authority of the Stagirite critic. This may also be inferred from the circumstance, that the leading grammarians of a lower period, who may be considered as representing the opinions of the Alexandrian masters, in their notices of the Margites, class it for the most part, like so many other works,

[1] Plat. Alcibiad. II. p. 147.; Callimach. ap. Harpocrat. v. Μαργ; Zeno ap. Dio. Chrys. Or. III. p. 275. ed. Reisk.; conf. Or. LXVII. p. 362.; Plut. Vit. Demosth. (ed. Par. 1624) p. 856 c.; Æschin. adv. Ctes. § 50.; Clem. Strom. I. p. 281.

merely under the head of compositions "ascribed to Homer."[1] Several of them assign it a real author, in the person of Pigres[2], the poet of Halicarnassus above alluded to as reputed author of the Batrachomyomachia, and as having interlined the Iliad and Odyssey with pentameter verses alternately with the poet's hexameters. The analogy, however, between this mode of combination and that followed in the Margites was but partial. In the latter poem, the iambics were not subjoined in alternate courses, but interspersed here and there, as the occasion or the spirit of the subject might suggest, to impart epigrammatic point to the narrative or dialogue. The seven extant verses[3] comprise but one iambic, a regular trimeter, the third line from the opening of the poem.

That the opinion of Aristotle here, as in other similar cases, was based on critical grounds, may safely be assumed. Had he been used to defer to mere popular tradition in such cases, he would undoubtedly have considered such evidence equally or still more valid in respect to the Cyclic poems, where he has so unceremoniously set it aside. His view is certainly little in unison with the general impression which the modern critic derives from the Iliad and Odyssey, either of the art or the age of the original Homer. But caution and diffidence, at least, are due to the authority of Aristotle, especially where the loss of the work itself deprives us of any near insight into the data on which his judgement was founded. The

[1] Procl. ap. Gaisf. p. 468.; Vit. Hom. Plut. I. v.; Eustath. Od. x. 552.; Harpocr. v. Μάργ; Heph. ed. Gaisf. p. 112., conf. 120.

[2] Suid. v. Πίγρης; Procl. ap. Bekk. Schol. ad Il. p. i.

[3] Düntz. p. 25. sq.

weight of the negative argument derived from the use of the iambic measure, as inconsistent with the genius or practice of Homer's age, has perhaps been overrated. The received tradition of the recent origin of that measure can hardly be said to rest on historical evidence more valid than the internal evidence which led Aristotle, in the face of the iambic element, whether that element may have been considered by him as genuine or spurious[1], to ascribe the poem to Homer. The existing fragments are marked, in other respects, by a genuine archaic style and phraseology. The scene of action appears from the tenor of these remains, and the incidental allusions of antient authors, to have been Colophon, which must, consequently, have then been a long-settled and flourishing community. This consideration, as referred to the views expressed in a former chapter relative to the age, life, and habits of the genuine Homer, militates seriously against the opinion of Aristotle. Of the details of the action no information has been transmitted. The hero is described in some of the extant lines as "neither fit for the plough, the spade, nor any other useful occupation;" as "a pretender to universal knowledge, but ignorant of every thing worth knowing;" and as resorting by preference to the most absurdly far-fetched expedients, for the attainment of the easiest and simplest objects. The recorded specimens of his experimental ingenuity display a genius nearly akin to that of the philosophers

[1] Wassenberg (Paraphr. Hom. Il. nott. p. 12.) has conjectured that the original Margites was in hexameter verses alone; and that the iambics were interpolated by Pigres. He would even interpret the passage of the Poetica as betraying no knowledge on Aristotle's part of any iambic verses in his text of the Margites. But this view seems hardly reconcilable with the terms of Aristotle's own text.

of Laputa, who devoted their talents to the extraction of sunbeams from cucumbers, and to the softening of marble, as a substitute for cotton or down in the manufacture of pillows and pincushions. Some of these descriptions appear to have been conceived, to say the least, in a very licentious style of Aristophanic humour.[1]

CERCOPES.

Cercopes.

17. Another specimen of the humorous order of Homeric poetry was the "Cercopes,"[2] so called after a pair of twin brothers, whose exploits it celebrated. The name signifies, literally, apes or baboons, and its two proprietors rank among the most distinguished members of the burlesque pandemonium of the Greeks. They appear in the local mythology of various districts as roguish sprites, haunting the country thoroughfares, ready to accost, and, where opportunity offered, by flattery, fraud, or force, to cheat or rob the passing traveller. The extant notices of the poem, of which scarcely an authenticated fragment[3] has been preserved, afford but slender criteria for judging of the details of its action. The leading adventure, however, or at least one of the most prominent episodes, was a rencontre between the two knavish dæmons and Hercules; a hero whose affairs, from an early period, furnished a favourite theme for the inspirations of the mock-heroic Muse. The story, ac-

[1] Frag. v. Düntz. ap. Eustath. ad Od. x. 552., γήμαντα δὲ μὴ συμπεσεῖν τῇ νύμφῃ ἕως ἐκείνη τετραυματίσθαι τὰ κάτω ἐσκήψατο· φάρμακόν τε μηδὲν ὠφελήσειν ἔφη πλὴν εἰ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον αἰδοῖον ἐκεῖ ἐφαρμοσθείη. καὶ οὕτω θεραπείας χάριν ἐκεῖνος ἐπλησίασεν. Conf. Phot. and Suid. in v. Μαργ.; Tzetz. Chil. iv. 867.; and Wassenberg, op. cit. nott. p. 12. sqq.

[2] Procl. ap. Gaisf. p. 468.; Harpocr. v. Κέρκωψ.

[3] Ap. Harpocr. et Suid. v. Κέρκ.

cording to the more antient and popular sources, appears to have been nearly as follows.[1]

The Cercopes had been warned by their mother Thia, a daughter of Ocean, to beware, in the course of their pranks, of meddling with Melampygus, or "the man of the black posteriors." This was a property by which Hercules was distinguished, and which in those days was considered honourable as a sign of manly strength and vigour. One day, fatigued with his labours and sitting down to repose on a stone by the wayside, beneath the shade of a tree in a defile on the frontiers of Locris and Bœotia[1], the Theban hero was overtaken by slumber. The place happened to be a haunt of the Cercopes, whom Hercules, suddenly awakening, detects in the act of plundering his wallet and arms. Seizing the culprits and tethering them by the heels, he slung them head downwards, as water-carriers do their buckets, one at each end of a pole resting on his shoulders, and bore them off prisoners. This position, however irksome, had the advantage of affording them a closer inspection of the lower parts of their captor's body beneath his tunic, and an interpretation, by consequence, of the oracle concerning Melampygus. The discovery was readily turned to account as a means of procuring their release. By broad sallies of humour, and burlesque compliments to the hero on the more secret beauties of his person, they succeed in cajoling him out of his previous sternness of purpose, and in throwing him into a fit of laughter, in the midst of which he good-naturedly allows them to disengage themselves and escape.

In some varieties of the legend Lydia was the scene of this adventure, in others Libya. The surnames of the two hobgoblins, in addition to their familiar appellative of Cercopes, were as numerous as the regions they frequented. In Bœotia they are called by some, Olus (the Mischievous) and Eurybatus (the Tramper); by others, Sillus (the Wag) and Triballus (the Mountebank). Elsewhere they

[1] See Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 1296. sqq., by whom the authorities have been collected, and the whole subject illustrated, with even more than his usual learning and acuteness. Conf. Müller, Dor. vol. I. p. 457. sq.

[2] Herod. VII. 216.

bore the names of Andulas and Atlantes, Passalus and Acmon; names all more or less significant, either of the personal qualities of the owners, or of the locality they frequented. By some authorities they are described as chiefs of a numerous tribe of similar characters. The Bœotian Cercopes, in their adventure with Hercules, have also the familiar epithet of Œchalians. This has been held to imply that their encounter with that hero took place in the course of his expedition against the city of Œchalia, which formed the subject of a distinguished poem of the Homeric Cycle; and it has even been further conjectured, but without reason, that the "Cercopes" was originally but an episode of that poem.[1] There can, however, be little doubt that their surname of Œchalians is, like those above enumerated, a mere significant epithet, equivalent to Vagabond or Tramper, travestied by a punning etymology from the title of the Bœotian hero's other more tragic adventure. The fable of the Cercopes was a favourite subject, not only with poets, but artists, from an early period. A group of Hercules bearing the two delinquent heroes on his shoulders, sculptured on the metope of a temple at Selinus, and now in the British Museum, is one of the most antient extant monuments of its class. While it proves the antiquity of the fable, it also vouches indirectly for that of the poem.[2]

PHOCAÏS.

Among the works attributed to Homer, on the sole authority of the pseudo-Herodotus, is a Phocaïs. Phocais.

[1] See Lobeck, supra cit.

[2] Conf. Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 409. note; Müller, Dor. vol. i. p. 457. sq.; for other works of art where the same adventure is represented.

It was one of the poems described by that biographer as composed during the poet's residence in the Ionian city of Phocæa, and presented to his host Thestorides. In no other quarter does allusion occur to the existence of such a poem, nor does our single authority throw any light on its character or subject. It has been attempted to clear up this obscurity by identifying the Phocaïs with another antient poem of greater notoriety, called the Minyad[1], ascribed in some quarters to a Phocæan author; and on the strength of this new title, and of the properly epic character with which the work would thus be invested, a place has even been assigned to it in the Homeric Cycle. The reasons adduced, however, are far from sufficient to warrant its admission, even hypothetically, among the members of that compilation. The title of the Phocaïs, which affords the only gleam of light, and but a very faint one, on its subject, must be presumed, from the analogy of other names similarly formed, such as Ilias or Thebaïs, to indicate an action connected with a Phocian locality, whether the colony Phocæa or the mother

[1] Welck. Ep. Cycl. p. 248. sqq. The only ostensible ground for this theory is the circumstance, that, while this obscure poem is entitled Phocaïs, Prodicus, the reputed author of the Minyas, is called by Pausanias a Phocæan. Even this coincidence, however, virtually disappears by reference to the fact, that the reputed Phocæan author of the Phocaïs is named by the only authority from whom we learn its existence, not Prodicus, but Thestorides; and that Prodicus is himself elsewhere called a Samian or a Perinthian. The Minyas, on the other hand, is never alluded to as a Homeric or Cyclic poem, in any of the frequent appeals by antient authors to its text. That a poem should be entitled Phocaïs merely because its author was a Phocæan is also repugnant to analogy. The cases of the Cypria, Naupactica, and others, cited as parallel by Welcker, are not in point. Here the word ἔπη is understood, often expressed, indicating, amid the doubt as to the real author, a poem of Cyprian or Naupactic origin. Titles formed like Phocaïs, Ilias, Thebaïs, Danaïs, invariably refer, not to the country of the author, but to the subject of the work.

country Phocis. Beyond this fact, the existing data afford no room for speculation, either as to the materials or the style of the poem, whether it may have been a humorous piece like the Cercopes, or a serious epopee on some subject of Phocian history. In the latter case, however, it were strange that so important an authority should have been passed over unnoticed by authors on Phocian antiquity or topography.

Epicichlides, &c.

The other petty "Homeric" poems cited by antient bibliographers[1]; the Epicichlides, Heptapectos Aix, Kenoi, Psaromachia (Battle of Starlings), Arachnomachia (Battle of Spiders), Geranomachia (Battle of Cranes); were also in great part of a ludicrous tendency. Little is known of their contents, and but few of them seem to have enjoyed any great popularity. The Epicichlides, or Song of the Fieldfares, was a congratulary ode similar to the Iresione, addressed to the youth of the day, and dwelling in complimentary, or even impassioned terms, on their personal graces and accomplishments. The poet in return received a present of fieldfares, the produce, it may be presumed, of their juvenile skill in the chase.[2] The titles of the last three compositions in the above list bespeak their subjects. The subjects of the other two are unknown, and their names have been transmitted in but a mutilated or doubtful state. In the former of the two the iambic measure is said to have been employed, combined perhaps, as in the Margites, with hexameters. A collection of Homeric Epithalamia seems also to have been current in later times.[3]

[1] Procl. ap. Gaisf. ad Heph. p. 468.; Suid. v. Ὁμηρος; conf. Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 412. sqq.

[2] Athen. II. p. 65., XIV. p. 639 A.

[3] Suid. loc. cit.

CHAP. XXI.

HESIOD.

1. HESIOD, LIKE HOMER, THE EPONYMUS OF A SCHOOL. HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY. SUPPLEMENTARY LEGEND. — 2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HESIODIC, AS COMPARED WITH THE HOMERIC, POETRY. — 3. WORKS AND DAYS. UNITY OF ITS COMPOSITION. — 4. PASSAGES OF DOUBTFUL AUTHENTICITY. SUPPOSED MUTILATION OF THE TEXT. — 5. ORIGINALITY OF STYLE AND SENTIMENT. — 6. EPISODES. DESCRIPTIONS. MORAL DOCTRINES. RURAL ECONOMY. — 7. AGE OF THE AUTHOR. — 8. THEOGONY. — 9. MERITS AND DEFECTS OF ITS COMPOSITION AND DOCTRINES. — 10. PARALLEL OF HOMER. INCOHERENCE OF THE ACTION. — 11. PROŒMIA OF THE THEOGONY. CLOSING LINES OF THE POEM. — 12. STYLE. — 13. AGE AND AUTHORSHIP. — 14. SHIELD OF HERCULES. — 15. ITS COMPOSITION AND STYLE. — 16. AGE AND ORIGINAL FORM. — 17. LOST POEMS OF "HESIOD." CATALOGUE OF WOMEN. EOÆ. — 18. MELAMPODIA. ASTRONOMY. MAXIMS OF CHIRON. — 19. ÆGIMIUS. — 20. NUPTIALS OF CEÏX. ELEGY ON BATRACHUS. IDÆI DACTYLI. ORNITHOMANTIA. DESCENT OF THESEUS TO HADES. EPITHALAMIUM OF PELEUS AND THETIS.

Hesiod, like Homer, the eponymus of a school.

1. THE chapter of poetical history for which this celebrated name supplies materials presents several features of analogy to that devoted to the still more celebrated name of Homer. Each title is to be considered as denoting a twofold personality: first, an individual poet, originator of a certain style of composition, and author of its standard models; secondly, the eponyme patriarch of a race or school of authors, by whom that style was cultivated. In every age of classical criticism, the leading works of each poet or school supplied a favourite and fertile field of commentary to the most distinguished grammarians.[1] In each case, among the numerous poems with which either

[1] See Göttl. in Præf. ad Hes. p. xxx. sqq., to which list may be added Xenophanes (frg. VII. Karst.), Heraclid. Pont. ap. Diog. Laert. v. vii., Cleomenes ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. I. p. 300 B.; conf. Indic. ad Scholl. Gaisford.

name was vulgarly connected, two, the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, the "Works" and Theogony of Hesiod, were respectively held to possess more immediate claims to emanate from the founder of the school. In each case, by more subtle critics, any such community of origin was denied even to these two; while, in our own days, the individual integrity even of the single poems has been impugned, and their text pronounced an artificial compilation of once unconnected elements.[1] While, in each case, the original poet, admitting the existence of such a person, flourished before the rise of authentic history, the only trustworthy data relative to his birth, destinies, or age, are derived from the internal evidence, direct or indirect, of his own works. In the last-mentioned particular, however, Hesiod possesses the advantage over Homer, that the light derived from this more genuine source, on the history of the former poet, is comparatively copious and distinct; while the very scanty pittance, if any there be, dealt out in the Iliad or Odyssey, can only be elicited by dint of divination and conjecture.

According to the notices supplied by the poet himself:

His autobiography.

The father of Hesiod was a citizen of the Æolian Cuma, who, straitened in circumstances at home, crossed the Ægæan, and settled at Ascra, a village in a rugged wintry region of the Bœotian Mount Helicon.[2] At an early age, while tending his father's flocks on his native mountain, the youthful bard was honoured by a personal interview with the Muses[3], the patron divinities of the district, who presented him with a laurel wand as a symbol of the genius for poetry and song with which, at the same time, they inspired

[1] Of the manuscripts and editions, see Gaisford, Præf. ad Hesiod.; Göttl. Præf. ad Hes. p. xxxvi. sqq.

[2] Opp. et D. 631. sqq. (Gaisf.)

[3] Theog. 22.

him. His taste for these more elegant pursuits was also combined with skill in agriculture, and other branches of rural economy. He did not, however, inherit his father's turn for nautical enterprise. His only maritime expedition was a sail across the narrow strait of the Euripus[1] to attend the funeral solemnities of Amphidamas of Chalcis. Here he was the successful competitor in a contest of rival poets, and dedicated the tripod[2], awarded as the prize of his victory, to the Heliconian goddesses, on the spot where they first inspired him with a taste for their arts. He had a brother called Perses, whom he charges with having, in concert with unrighteous judges bribed to his interest, extorted an undue share in the division of their common heritage.[3] Afterwards, falling into low circumstances, Perses was reduced to the humiliation of applying to his injured brother for relief, and to the same Perses the greater part of Hesiod's didactic poem, the "Works and Days," is addressed.

Thus far Hesiod concerning himself. In the legend[4]:

Supplementary legend.

Hesiod, like Homer, was descended from Apollo, through a line of succession comprising Orpheus, Linus, and other bards of mythical celebrity[5], and terminating in a family of Æolo-Bœotian colonists of Cuma. From one branch of this family sprang Homer, from another Hesiod. The father of the latter poet was called Dius[6], his mother Pycimede. The two were contemporaneous, in some accounts first cousins[7], and rival competitors in the funeral games at Chalcis[8], where the prize was awarded to Hesiod. His victory, however, was less a tribute to the superior excellence of his Muse, than a result of the preference given by the judges to the doctrines of peace and industry which he incul-

[1] Opp. et D. 649.

[2] Opp. et D. 656. This tripod, or rather its later representative, was seen by Pausanias (IX. xxxi. 3.), and its inscription is reported by Dio Chrysost. de Regno, Orat. II. p. 76. Reisk.

[3] Opp. et D. 27. 37.

[4] See Procl. Vit. Hes. ap. Gaisf. in Scholl. p. 5. sqq.; Tzetz. ap. Gaisf. ibid. p. 13.; Göttl. Præf. ad Hes. p. xxxix.; Agon, or "contest" of Homer and Hesiod, ap. Göttl. ibid. p. 241. sqq.; Plut. Conviv. Sept. Sap. XIX.

[5] Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 323.

[6] This name is a genealogical pun on the commonplace epithet διὸν γένος, applied by the poet to his brother. Opp. et D. 297.

[7] Hellanic. Pherecyd. alii, ap Procl. Vit. Hom. ed. Gaisf. p. 466.

[8] Conf. Auctt. vitt. sup. citt., alios ap. Marckscheff. Hesiod. frag. p. 41. sqq.

cated, over the wars and wandering adventures celebrated by Homer. On the termination of the festival, Hesiod journeyed to Delphi, to consult the oracle as to his future lot, and was warned by the Pythoness to beware of the Grove of the Nemean Jupiter, as the destined scene of his death. Supposing this response to indicate the great Argive sanctuary of Nemea, he continued to travel at his ease in the countries north of the Isthmus. Arriving at Œnoe, in the Ozolian Locris, he partakes of the hospitality of two brothers, by name Amphiphanes and Ganyctor, whose dwelling, unknown to him, was situated within the limits of a district sacred to the Nemean god.[1] His hosts, suspecting him[2] of having corrupted the virtue of their sister Clymene, who had in fact been seduced by a fellow-lodger, assassinate him secretly, and cast his body into the sea. Borne on the back of dolphins[3], his remains were deposited on the strand near the town of Molycria, in the territory of Naupactus. Here they were discovered and recognised by the citizens when engaged in a festival by the sea-side, and were interred with due honours in the same Nemean sanctuary where he met his fate. The murder was investigated, and, partly through the instinct of a faithful dog[4] of the poet, brought home to the perpetrators, who were put to death.[5] The body of Hesiod was afterwards, in obedience to an oracle, removed from its first resting-place to the Bœotian Orchomenus, the sanctuary of the Graces. A sumptuous tomb was there erected to his memory, still extant in the days of Pausanias, and the epitaph on which, attributed by some to Pindar, by others to Chersias, a Bœotian poet, is cited by Aristotle.[6]

[1] Conf. Thucyd. III. 96. Thus Cambyses was warned to beware of Ecbatana; Alexander Molossus, of Pandosia; the emperor Frederick II., of Florence; and Henry IV., of Jerusalem. The precaution in each case was frustrated by a like fatal quibble.

[2] Some versions of the story imputed to him the real guilt of the seduction; hence the fable which made Hesiod father of Stesichorus described this Locrian Clymene as his mother. Pausan. IX. XXXI. 5.; Aristot. ap. Procl. Vit. Hes. p. 7. Gaisf.; Procl. ad Op. et D. 268. In other accounts (Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. XIX.) the poet's murderers only suspected Hesiod as privy to the crime of his fellow-lodger.

[3] Plut. de Solert. Anim. c. xiii. xxxvi. The agency of the dolphin here connects itself in an interesting manner with the natural history of this maritime region, where the animal abounds, and is the hero of other similar adventures. See note to p. 336. supra.

[4] Plut. op. cit. [5] Eratosth. in Agon, p. 250. sq.

[6] Pausan. IX. XXXVIII. 3.; Procl. Vit. Hes. Gaisf. p. 7.; Aristot. et

The portion of this biography which rests on Hesiod's own testimony tends to illustrate and confirm the tradition which connects the age and birthplace of Homer with the early Æolian colonies in Asia Minor. Among other symptoms of Æolian predilection in the Iliad, the precedence awarded in the Catalogue to the Bœotian territory has been explained above as a tribute of respect both to the ascendancy of that district among the Æolian provinces of Hellas, and to her acknowledged claims as mother country of the Æolian settlements in Asia. Hence, in the autobiography of Hesiod, his parents, described as citizens of Cuma, the same colony to which Homer's ancestors also belonged, when discontented with their Asiatic abode, recross the Ægæan, and select as their residence a dreary village of Helicon. This preference of Bœotia, and more particularly of so inhospitable a locality, in the choice of their new dwelling-place, could only be owing to its having been the native seat of their race, possibly their own, whither, in spite of its unattractive character, they would, on failure of their foreign prospects, be most readily disposed to return. Apart, therefore, from the imputed kinsmanship of the two poets, the legend of their common Æolian origin assumes broad features of probability. The dialect

Plutarch. ap. Procl. ad Opp. et D. 631.; conf. Gaisf. Parœm. Græc. p. 109. Welcker infers from the citation of Aristotle by Proclus, that in the older tradition the poet's bones were removed, not from Œnoe, but from his own birthplace, Askra. The words of Proclus are, that "in consequence of the hospitality afforded by Orchomenus to the Ascræan refugees, on the destruction of their town by the Thespians, the Pythoness had decreed to that state the honour of being the future receptacle of the poet's remains;" nothing is said as to the spot whence they were removed. Welck. Opp. misc. de Stesich. p. 155. The same Proclus, however, in his life of the poet, seems to quote Aristotle as his authority for the popular view.

of Hesiod differs from that of Homer but in a few idiomatic peculiarities, betraying a ruder state of the epic idiom in his own less cultivated region, than in the more refined schools of Asia.[1] Homer's language, therefore, may be characterised as the Æolo-Asiatic, Hesiod's as the Æolo-Bœotic, branch of the antient epic dialect.

Characteristics of the Hesiodic poetry.

2. The customary definition of the Hesiodic poetry as "didactic," in contradistinction to the "heroic" Muse of Homer, is only correct in so far as limited to the pair of standard compositions by which the genius of each author is more properly represented, the Works and Days and Theogony of the one, the Iliad and Odyssey of the other. The distinction cannot extend to the great mass of the imputed compositions of the Bœotian poet, which, while they seem to have exceeded, both in number and volume, those possessing stronger claims to authenticity, partook perhaps, on the whole, more of the heroic than the didactic character. Such is the still extant Shield of Hercules; such was the poem or collection of poems entitled Catalogue of Women, which seems to have far exceeded in bulk both Works and Days and Theogony united. Such were the Descent of Theseus to Hades, and others, now lost. The characteristic feature of distinction, therefore, between the Bœotic and Homeric schools, in addition to the dialectical peculiarities already noticed, is to be sought, not so much in the especial devotion of the former to any one class of subjects, as in the variety which it preferred, and in the

[1] Such are the short α in the accusative plural in ας of the first declension (Opp. et D. 562. 661. 673., Theog. 60. 267. 401. 534. 653. 804.); also (Scut. H. 302.) ος for ους or ως in the same case of the second declension; ἄν for ῶν in the genitive plural of the first. (Opp. et D. 144., Theog. 41.)

desultory mode of their treatment. With Homer and his Cyclic successors, an extensive series of adventures was followed out with such a degree of epic unity as each poet had talent to impart to it. With Hesiod, on the other hand, either a comparatively brief subject, extending to little more than an ordinary episode of a regular epopee, was preferred; or a number of originally distinct though cognate subjects were combined into one narrative, with but a slender thread of historical connexion, and little or no bond of poetical unity. The Catalogue of Women, for example, was a collection of mythical histories, of which the connecting link was a genealogy of the females from whom the principal heroes celebrated were descended. Its plan may be illustrated by the analogy of Ovid's Metamorphoses, a work constructed to all appearance after the Hesiodic model; and where the more remarkable cases of human transformation supplied the same rivet to the chain of events, as did the succession of heroines in the Catalogue. The Hesiodic Melampodia, in like manner, celebrated a series of prophets, or prophetic families, concentrated around Melampus, the most illustrious of mortal seers. These works, indeed, although composed of epic materials, may, contrasted with the Homeric poems on the same class of subjects, in so far rank as of the didactic order, that they certainly communicate in a more distinct and methodical form than the Homeric epopee the records of early mythical history.

Of the lost poems ascribed to Hesiod[1], three, the Astronomy, the Maxims of Chiron, and the Treatise on Omens, may be defined in the stricter sense as didactic. The only work which, while pretending to

[1] See the list below, § 17.

a certain Homeric unity of plan, obtained a place in the list was the Ægimius. Its claim, however, to Hesiodic honours was but slender; Cercops of Miletus, reputed a contemporary of the Bœotian bard, being also in some quarters quoted by preference as its author. The un-Hesiodic peculiarity above noticed in the character of the work may, probably, have formed an argument on the negative side.

With this exception, therefore, if such it can be called, there may, amid a wide variety of subject, be traced a pervading common character in the numerous Hesiodic poems, which, as in the parallel case of Homer, led them to be classed under the name of a single author. The fundamental feature of the Homeric school is an absorption of the author in his subject. He is the secret mover of the dramatic mechanism by which his heroes are exhibited, himself remaining invisible. The genius of "Hesiod," on the other hand, is essentially personal, or "subjective." This is peculiarly the case with his two chief productions; and the more it is so, the more Hesiodic they are. In the Works, not only is the author never out of sight, but it is the author, at least as much as the subject, which imparts interest to the whole. Instead of an inspired being, transported beyond self into the regions of heroism and glory, a gifted rustic, impelled by his private feelings and necessities, dresses up his own affairs and opinions in that poetical garb which the taste of his age and country enjoined as the best passport to notice and popularity. His sketch, consequently, of Æolo-Bœotic life, of its rural economy, habits, and superstitions, is drawn with a vivacity and truth which render it the most valuable extant picture of its kind. In the Theogony, the same

characteristic individuality, though from the nature of the subject less prominent, is still observable. The remains of the other compositions of the school scarcely afford means of judging to what extent the author's personality, real or assumed, may have been there also in the ascendant. But there can be little doubt that all, or most of them, were partially marked by the same feature.

These distinctive properties of the two schools are interesting in an ethic and historical, as well as a poetical, point of view, from the difference which they appear to reflect between the more imaginative developement of Æolian character on the eastern shore of the Ægæan, and the graver more phlegmatic temperament which it assumed in the region of Central Greece. A question has been raised among modern commentators, as to the degree in which the two schools of art may have been originally connected with, or dependant on, each other. By some the Æolo-Bœotic school has been assumed to be a separate branch of the primeval epic minstrelsy matured in its native seats by local cultivation, unaided and uninfluenced by the higher models produced in the Asiatic colonies.[1] To this view there might, in so far as respects the Works and Days alone, be little objection; but, in the other less genial productions attributed to the same author, the proofs of Homeric imitation are so palpable, as to exclude all pretension to any such separate originality. One other curious distinction between the two schools must be noticed, that, while the names of numerous disciples or imitators of "Homer" have been preserved, "Hesiod" bears the sole responsibility of the entire

[1] Thiersch, Ueb. die Ged. des Hesiod.

body of poems accumulated on his name. Most of the works to which, besides the Iliad and Odyssey, the title of Homer familiarly attached, possessed, as we have seen, in the more authentic tradition, each a claim to some separate author or authors; the Cypria to Stasinus, the Æthiopis to Arctinus, the Little Iliad to Lesches. But in no single instance (with the partial exception of the doubtful Ægimius) is any such claim recorded as having been advanced by a "Hesiodic" poem to independant origin. There is no alternative between Hesiod himself and a purely anonymous author. That all notice of a race of poets enjoying, doubtless, during their lifetime, a large share of popularity should so entirely have perished, is a phenomenon in the history of literature not very easy to explain.

Of the three still existing specimens of Hesiodic minstrelsy, two, the Works and Days and the Theogony, have been considered in the popular opinion of every age as the more immediate and genuine representatives of the genius of Hesiod. The Shield of Hercules may more properly rank among the secondary productions of the school, and as indebted for its preservation rather to the favour of fortune, than to any acknowledged preference which it enjoyed among the antients, either as to merit or general popularity, over its fellows. The common origin, however, even of the two former standard compositions was disputed, and the local tradition of the poet's Heliconian fellow-citizens admitted the Works and Days alone as his genuine production.[1] The scepticism of the antients, here as in other similar cases comparatively cautious, has been

[1] Pausan. IX. xxxi. 3.

greatly extended in the bolder theories of modern commentators; and the existing text of Hesiod, within its narrower sphere of extent or interest, has been subjected to the same rigid tests of critical alchymy as that of Homer. The first step, therefore, towards an impartial estimate of the poems, either in their existing separate integrity or in their relation to each other and to Greek literature at large, will be, by a process of analysis somewhat similar to that adopted in the case of Homer, to test by internal evidence the unity or anomaly of their structure, and the general merits or defects of their composition.

THE WORKS AND DAYS.

"Works and Days."

3. The Muses and Father Jove are invoked to inspire the poet with the spirit of truth, and impart conviction to the words of advice or reproof which he is about to address to his brother Perses.

The Goddess of Strife is described as embodying two distinct personalities[1], the one destructive and pernicious, the promoter of broils and bloodshed, the other an incentive to emulation and honourable enterprise. The poet exhorts Perses to propitiate and court the one class of influences, and to shun or resist the other; condemns his litigious spirit, and the iniquity of his late conduct, in conspiring with corrupt judges[2] to defraud a brother of his birthright; and counsels him for the future rather to seek wealth by the exercise of honest industry. He enlarges on the fatal necessity to which the human race have been subjected, of earning their subsistence by hard labour, instead of living, as formerly, on the spontaneous bounty of the gods. This deterioration of their lot is traced to the anger of Jupiter[3] at the impious attempts of Prometheus and his confederate mortals to render themselves, by their own intellectual devices, independant of the divine power. Hence the fatal gift of Pandora[4] to short-sighted man, with its consequences, the spread of vice, disease, and sorrow, upon the earth, as a judgement on the sin of its inha-

[1] 11. [2] 39. [3] 47. [4] 81.

bitants. The origin of evil, with the gradual corruption of human manners, is further illustrated by the fable of the Five Ages of the world[1]; and the poet feelingly laments his own misfortune in having his lot cast with the lowest and worst, condemned both to witness and experience its daily increasing depravity. He then addresses himself in terms of keen but friendly remonstrance to the judges[2] of whose iniquitous conduct he had lately been the victim; and exhorts both them and their confederate Perses to quit their evil ways, and by following those of prudence and equity to secure the divine favour, the only true source of prosperity or happiness to nations or to men.

These general rules of conduct are followed up in a series of instructions to his brother, inculcating the duties and virtues of social life. Agriculture[3] is commended as the best and surest road to honest wealth, and its principles are explained, together with those of the subsidiary arts, navigation[4] more especially, as necessary to dispose of the produce of the farm. Marriage[5] is commended, and rules are given for the choice of a wife. Lounging in the tavern or smithy[6] is deprecated, as an antidote to all habits of industry. The virtues of charity and hospitality are especially enjoined, with numerous other pious duties and observances essential to secure the good-will of men, or avert the judgements of Heaven. The poem concludes with a religious calendar of the month, and remarks on its fortunate or unpropitious days, in their adaptation to the duties and occupations of life.[7]

Unity of its composition.

The materials of this poem are certainly of a somewhat heterogeneous description. Nor, perhaps, is their arrangement altogether in conformity with the Aristotelian law of poetical unity. Modern critics accordingly have discovered in these anomalies, if such they be, an opening for the customary speculations as to the patchwork origin of the poem, or its entire perversion, at least, by interpolation or corruption, from its genuine Hesiodic integrity of form and matter. Such speculations, whatever little plausibility they may possess in regard to productions of the regular epic order, become comparatively

[1] 108. [2] 246. [3] 381. [4] 616. [5] 402. [6] 491. [7] 763.

nugatory in their extension to a poet of Hesiod's homely school of art; and to a composition such as the Works and Days, where there was neither obligation nor inducement to the observance of any abstract law of unity.[1] The design of the work here placed the execution completely at the discretion of the author. That design was, simply to communicate to his brother, in emphatic language, and in the order, or, it might be the disorder, which his excited feelings suggested, his opinions or counsels on a variety of matters of deep interest to both, and to the social circle in which they moved. But, in fact, if impartially considered, the Works and Days will not be found more deficient in that connexion of parts which

[1] Twesten, the originator of the late theory, or rather theories, on this subject, assumed the poem to be a digest of five other shorter Works and Days, the limits of each of which he prescribes; but each of which, according to him, is itself a compound of a number of more minute elements, partly genuine, partly interpolations of different periods. Comm. Crit. de Hes. Opp. et D. p. 64. sq.

Thiersch's doctrine is, that an original rhapsody of the Bœotian didactic school had been swelled, in its passage to posterity, by successive interpolations, to a bulk greatly exceeding that of the existing poem; and that this heterogeneous mass of materials had been again broken up, and finally redigested, during the lower ages of the Roman empire, into the epitome of its contents which now passes current as the genuine Works and Days of Hesiod. Yet the same critic, by a process of reasoning not very easy to comprehend, discovers in this condensed cento of Greco-Roman corruptions a pervading native peculiarity of matter and manner, sufficient to constitute it his standard representative (see note to p. 380. supra) of a primitive Æolo-Bœotic school of poetry, broadly distinguished, in style, sentiment, and dialect, from the rival Homeric school on the other side of the Ægæan. Ueb. die Gedichte des Hes. p. 30. sq., conf. 9. sqq.

Göttling, while subscribing generally to Thiersch's view, modifies it by another no less curious doctrine, that the final redaction, and a large portion of the contents of the poem, are due to the same Ionian or Homeric authors to whose genuine productions the two critics agree in setting it up, both as to style and materials, in the broadest light of contrast. Præf. p. xix., conf. nott. ad 504. sqq.; alibi.

constitutes unity in a literary production, less so, probably, than most treatises of a like nature in refined ages of literature. The authors of such manuals for the moral conduct of life usually address themselves, vaguely and generally, to the reader or the public, as it may happen. Here the instructions are ranged distinctly around certain prominent events in the life of the poet. The Works and Days, as somewhat inappropriately entitled, might more correctly be described, "A Letter of Remonstrance and Advice" to a brother; of remonstrance on the folly of his past conduct, of advice as to the future. Upon these two fundamental data every fact, doctrine, and illustration of the poem depends, as essentially as the plot of the Iliad on the anger of Achilles.[1] The ill-treatment of Hesiod by Perses; the iniquity of the judges who had lent themselves to his fraud; the subsequent folly, misfortunes, and present low condition of the culprit; the friendly anxiety of Hesiod for the amendment of his character and lot, and the means proposed for that object; are heads of subject all so closely connected in the general spirit, if not in the actual order, of the narrative, as to exclude all reasonable suspicion of any one of them having been destined for any other place than that which it now occupies. Attention may be more especially directed to the marked but easy and spontaneous references made from time to time, throughout the poem, to the moral relations of brother and

[1] Modern editors of the Wolfian school have indeed done much to destroy this unity and consistency, by their false subdivisions and punctuations of the text; and by the brackets, parentheses, and hiatus, with which they have disfigured it, in illustration of their own theories.

brother[1], duties certainly not wont to be so pointedly enforced in ordinary cases, or to which a number of authors of desultory didactic poems would have been likely to give prominence. What can be more obvious, for example, than that by the mysterious pair of brothers, Prometheus and Epimetheus (Forethought and Afterthought), in the fable of Pandora, the poet has typified himself and his foolish brother Perses? Yet among the passages to which objection has been taken is this same episode of Pandora, with the parallel one of the Five Ages.[2] Both have been condemned as superfluous, out of place, and inconsistent with each other. Both must here be ranked, as they were by the best native critics of old, among the passages of the poem most distinguished by genuine Hesiodic originality. It has been urged that the two episodes contradict each other, and could not consequently have proceeded from the same author. The inherent value, or rather worthlessness, of such arguments has been considered elsewhere.[3] With reference to the case more immediately in point, the previous question arises: how far the two lines of illustration were ever meant to agree; whether variety, and, in so far, incongruity, may not have been precisely the object of the poet. That such was his object is, in fact, intimated in the terms of transition from one to the other, where the latter of the two is expressly described as a "different tale,"[4] or, it may rather be said, a different version of the same. These episodes are, in fact, like the work itself, not historical but didactic. They do not belong to that

[1] 182. 326. 369. 705.
[2] Göttl. præf. p. xix. alibi; Thiersch, p. 30.
[3] Vol. I. p. 437. sqq.
[4] 106.

class of mythical tradition which professes to record facts. Neither Hesiod, nor any probably but the very simplest of his countrymen, believed in the actual existence of such a man as Prometheus, or such a woman as Pandora, nor in any actual succession of ages, in the first two of which gold and silver were the only metals, and in the third of which men's houses were built of brass. Both fables are cosmogonical allegories, types of certain stages or vicissitudes of human destiny, which those fables do not the less appropriately illustrate, that they do not illustrate them precisely in the same manner. Were Nestor, in his historical comments on his youthful days of chivalry, to introduce side by side two narratives of facts in plain contradiction to each other, the objection of incongruity might have its weight. But it were absurd to deny the common authorship of two of Æsop's fables, because in the one the ant is represented as the symbol of industry, and in the other the bee. Several of the other passages chiefly exposed to this sort of objection are not only among those most characteristic of the author's style, but the most essential to the harmony and continuity of his narrative.[1]

Passages of doubtful authenticity.

4. Among the few texts the genuine character of which is open to reasonable question, the most important is the exordium, comprising the first ten verses

[1] Göttling, in his Essay on the Life of Hesiod (præf. init.), adduces 648. sqq. of the "Works" as conclusive internal evidence of the poet's Ascræan nativity. But, in his commentary on the poem (633. 646.), he rejects the same passage and others contiguous, as interpolations of sophists who upheld the pretensions of Ascra against Cuma. This and other similar inconsistencies of Göttling have been noticed and condemned even by Hermann (Opp. Misc. vol. vi. p. 245. alibi), usually a very indulgent critic in the case of such zealous coadjutors in his own favourite schemes of dissecting and subdividing the productions of Greek epic minstrelsy.

of the poem. These lines were wanting in various well-accredited editions, among others in that preserved in the Heliconian sanctuary of the Muses, and which Pausanias appears to have considered the oldest extant in his time. The authority of this copy was also supported by the tradition of the district, and the judgement of distinguished professional critics.[1] The passage belongs in fact to that class of movable proœmia which, as more fully illustrated in our analysis of the Homeric hymns, it was usual to prefix to popular poems for the convenience of public rehearsal, and which seem, even when emanating from a different author, to have been frequently retained in the current editions as the production of the original poet. It is certain, however, that, while these ten lines are marked by the same characteristic features of style as the remainder of the poem, its exordium would, without some such preamble, be singularly abrupt and incoherent. Another passage, the genuine character of which has been impugned with a certain plausibility, and which is one of some little importance as bearing on the personal history of Hesiod, is that where he describes himself as averse to maritime enterprise. The only occasion, he adds, on which he had ever ventured on shipboard was when he crossed the ferry from Aulis to Chalcis of Eubœa, to attend a festival in the latter town[2]; a voyage scarcely requiring the aid of a vessel, the channel being nearly dry at low water, and now crossed by a bridge. This statement, it has been urged, is little consistent with the specific instructions on maritime affairs delivered

[1] Pausan. ix. xxxi.; conf. Aristarch. alios ap. Procl. ad Hes. p. 3., Gaisf.

[2] 648. sqq.

by the poet to his brother in previous and subsequent passages, implying that he had paid considerable attention to certain branches of the art of navigation. It will be remarked, however, that these passages relate in no degree to the practical or mechanical part of the nautical profession, of which Hesiod, in the course of the same instructions, distinctly states himself to be ignorant. They refer chiefly to matters on which a landsman, in a country where maritime enterprise was confined to little more than coasting voyages, might be as well qualified to offer advice as a sailor: such are the signs or vicissitudes of the weather, and the seasons propitious or unfavourable to sea voyages. Upon these points the poet certainly dwells in terms indicating him to have been at least no very adventurous navigator. The passage in question offers no cause of offence in respect to dialect or style.[1]

Supposed mutilation of the text.

Stress has also been laid, as evidence of the present if not the original nonintegrity of the poem, on texts or opinions of Hesiod, quoted by writers of the Roman period, by Manilius and Pliny for example, relative to certain branches of rural husbandry, such as the culture of the vine and olive, of which no notice is to be found in the existing Works and Days. But in no instance have these passages been quoted as having formed part of that poem; and in most cases they may be preferably assigned to

[1] Plutarch (ap. Procl. ad Opp. et D. 648.; conf. Symposiac. v. 2.) is the only antient critic whose stigma is recorded as having been appended to this text. His scepticism was confined, however, to the verses relative to the competition of poets, 652—657.; and seems to have been directed less against the text itself than the popular interpretation of it, as alluding to the fabulous contest between Homer and Hesiod. This interpretation was, in fact, supported in some of the popular editions by a spurious verse, where the name of Homer was introduced. Procl. ad 655.

other lost works of the Hesiodic school. The assumption common among modern commentators, that the Works and Days was the only poem of that school in which agricultural subjects were treated, even incidentally, is altogether groundless. There can be no doubt that various others, the "Astronomy" for example, or the "Maxims of Chiron," comprehended portions of such matter. Several, however, of the citations of Hesiod by extant classics, as an authority on points of rural husbandry not treated in the existing poems, may be better explained by reference to the practice common, especially among Latin authors, of connecting the name of the "Ascræan poet," as the patriarch or eponyme of rural life and habits, with every branch of agriculture, whether treated or omitted in his works.[1]

Originality of style and sentiment.

5. In passing on from the structure to the style of the poem, the first feature which demands attention is its distinct and genuine originality, a property possessed by the Works and Days alone among the productions of the primitive epic muse in common with the Iliad and Odyssey, and supplying in itself conclusive evidence of substantial unity of authorship. Not a vestige can be discerned of that spirit of Homeric imitation which pervades all the secondary poems of the early epic school, including the other accredited compositions of Hesiod. The Works and Days, it is true, contains expressions, or even verses, common to the Iliad or Odyssey[2], but of such a nature, or introduced in such a manner, as

[1] See Appendix K.

[2] There are but three verses which, in their integrity, or essential features, can be identified with texts of Homer; 93. (cf. Odyss. xix. 360.) and 315, 316. (conf. Il. xxiv. 45., Odyss. xvii. 347.). The two latter are condemned by Plutarch as spurious. Schol. ad 315.

scarcely to warrant the assumption of their being the original property of the one rather than the other poet. They belong to the common stock of popular Greek proverbs, which Homer may as well be supposed to have borrowed from Thamyris or Demodocus, as Hesiod from Homer. The poetical dialect of the Works and Days is also essentially the same as the dialect of the Iliad; that, namely, common to the whole national epic minstrelsy in primitive ages, with occasional interspersion, in the former poem, of idiomatic or rustic forms peculiar to the genius or to the native district of Hesiod.[1] In all other vital respects, not only the subject, but the sentiment, imagery, expression, and versification of the Works, are as purely and exclusively Hesiodic, as those of the Iliad and Odyssey are purely Homeric. While in Homer every faculty of the intellect or imagination is developed in its broadest and noblest forms, in Hesiod the fancy appears subservient to the judgement, the imaginative to the moral faculty. Had prose composition been already popular in his time, the Works and Days would probably have been embodied in that form. His aim was rather pointedly to express his feelings and enforce his doctrines, than elegantly to arrange and adorn the terms in which they were embodied. Hence his abrupt opening of his subject, by an apostrophe to the Genius of Discord, through whose influence he had been led to embark on it. Hence that sudden transition from head to head of argument which marks almost every stage of the poem, and where any want of elegance is amply made up by the impressive earnestness of

[1] See note to p. 377. supra; conf. Thiersch üb. Hes. p. 10.

each recurring sally of reproach, advice, or warning. Hence that repetition, sometimes to a faulty excess, of certain more pithy phrases, remarks, or sarcasms on persons or subjects of more immediate interest.[1] These are features which, while the peculiarity as well as sameness of their occurrence bespeaks a corresponding eccentricity of genius in the original author, are singularly incompatible with the art of the professional interpolator, whose efforts would rather be directed to smooth down all such jarring inequalities in the exterior surface of his compilation.

The sentiment of the poem is throughout marked by the same homely hearty simplicity, so finely characteristic of the personal habits, as well as of the muse, of the rustic Bœotian minstrel; by the same easy suavity of numbers, the same earnestness of feeling and mild placidity of expression, the same dry epigrammatic terseness, degenerating at times into the enigmatic or obscure, where the subject assumes a more sententious turn. In the more imaginative attributes of poetry, Hesiod, as judiciously remarked by antient critics of high authority, seldom rises even to dignity. He rarely approaches the pathetic, or aspires to the sublime.[2] Studied figures of speech are as foreign to his taste as to his powers. No simile, in the technical sense of the term, is to be found in the Works and Days. The ordinary vein of illustration consists of familiar proverbs, or of that simpler kind of metaphor, borrowed from every-day life, and so generally popular with a primitive audience.

[1] See v. 300. sqq. where the term or root ἐργ, "work," in its different modifications, occurs thirteen times in fifteen lines; conf. also δίκη, 254—281.

[2] Quintil. x. i. 52.; conf. Dion. Hal. Jud. vett. de Hes.

Among these illustrative passages, the dialogue between the hawk and the nightingale[1] deserves to be more especially noticed, as the earliest example of that homely mode of conveying moral instruction, which became in later times a distinct order of composition under the name of the Æsopic fable. The poet likens his own lot to that of the nightingale, borne aloft in the talons of the hawk, and lamenting her sad fate; while the overbearing and arbitrary conduct of the corrupt judges in the suit between himself and Perses is figured in the reply of the hawk, who consoles the unfortunate songster by reminding her of the honour conferred on her in being made the victim of so powerful and dignified an oppressor. To the same quaint parabolic vein of expression belongs a peculiarity of usage which constitutes a prominent feature both of Hesiod's style and of his Æolo-Bœotic idiom, consisting in a certain indirect mode of designating objects, not by their actual names, but by terms significant of their qualities or influences. Sometimes ordinary adjectives or epithets are employed in a substantive form; sometimes compound terms of the same familiar class are invented for the purpose. Of the former description are such phrases as "The Provident,"[2] for the ant; "The Dry,"[3] for the extremity of the nail as distinguished from "the green"[4] or quick; "The Immovable,"[5] for tombs or other sacred structures. To the latter class belong "The Boneless,"[6] for the centipede or caterpillar; "The House-bearer,"[7] for the snail; "The Five-

[1] 200. sqq. [2] ἰδρις, 776. [3] αἶον, 741. [4] χλωρόν, 741.
[5] ἀκίνητα, 748.; conf. παρθενική for παρθένος, 63. 517. 697. also 558.
[6] ἀνόστεος, 522. [7] φερέοικος, 569.

branched,"[1] for the human hand; "Wood-sleepers,"[2] for wild beasts. Sometimes a similar effect is produced by a periphrasis; as, "The day-sleeping man,"[3] for the thief who rests during the daylight, and prowls in the dark; the "Three-footed man,"[4] the old and decrepit, requiring a staff; "The servant of Minerva,"[5] ("the artist") for the blacksmith. This mode of expression, which amounts to a sort of homely wit or conversational slang, may also be recognised in the popular Attic dialect, as in that indeed of most other countries.[6] It has, however, rarely been transferred into classical style, never to the same degree or in the same naked simplicity as by this author. It is also worthy of remark that the only cultivated idiom, if such it can be called, where the same phraseology appears in a closely similar form, is the early mystic dialect of the Delphic oracle, abolished by authority in later times. The correspondence between the language of Hesiod and that of the Pythoness is observable in other cases, where familiar phrases, or even entire verses, are found common to each; which might warrant the suspicion that she had borrowed from the poet rather than the poet from her.[7] The same or a very similar mode of figurative expression is occasionally extended to whole

[1] πέντοζος, 740. [2] ὑλεκοῖται, 527. [3] ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ, 603.

[4] τρίπους βροτός, 531. a popular Bœotian figure of speech from the days of Œdipus and the Sphinx downwards.

[5] Ἀθηναίης δμωός, 428.

[6] Among the Athenians the examples belong chiefly to what is called euphemism; the softening, namely, of unpleasant ideas or allusions, by an ambiguous mode of expressing them.

[7] Plut. de Pyth. orac. def. xxiv. Other correspondences of dialect and idiom between the oracle and the poet are: 395. 631. μέγα νήπιε (conf. orac. ap. Herodot. i. lxxxv.); 646. (conf. Herod. i. xlvii.); also 283. repeated entire apud Herodot. vi. lxxxvi.; δημότας ἄνδρας ap. Plut. in Lycurg. vi.

sentences, indicating in the same parabolic style, not merely single objects, but complex ideas, by allusions to the signs or concomitant circumstances of facts or things, rather than by descriptions of the facts or things themselves. Thus the husbandman is counselled to "sow naked and reap naked,"[1] signifying that both operations should be carried on in warm weather. The superiority of good neighbours to blood-relatives is figured by the maxim, that "in the hour of need the former will come to your aid unbelted, the latter belted;"[2] meaning that the neighbour will be the more alert of the two, will not stop to gird himself. A squalid unwholesome habit of body is indicated by "a swoln foot and skinny hand."[3] The boy who breaks the clods and covers up the furrows in seed-time is said to "cause labour to the birds," namely, difficulty in getting at the grain.[4] Most of these idioms of sentiment or language are so marked in themselves, so peculiar to this single work, and so generally distributed over its text, that, had that work been the production of a historical epoch of literature, and, as such, placed beyond the arena of modern controversy, there are few probably which by their own internal evidence would have so completely excluded, even in the most fanciful quarter, the remotest doubt of their emanating from a single author.[5]

[1] 389. [2] 343. [3] 495.

[4] 468.; conf. 478. Among other characteristic peculiarities of idiom (observable like the above in the Works alone, even among the Hesiodic poems) may be mentioned the frequent recurrence of the exhortation ὀδ' ἔρδειν, 35. 360. 380. 758.; and of the epithets ὡραῖος and ὥριος, amounting almost to tautology, 32. 305. 615. 628. 640. 663. 693.; 390. 392. 420. 490. 541. 695.

[5] Yet Göttling does not hesitate to discard one of the portions of the text most broadly marked by these Æolo-Bœotic peculiarities, the

Episodes.

6. The episodes of the Works and Days are in happy unison with the general scope and spirit of the poem. A preference is given to religious fables or parables of a grave or even mystical character, illustrative of the origin or influence of those moral agencies, virtues, vices, passions, by the author's experience of which his work had been suggested. It is in these passages that the more attractive features of his art are displayed. As if inspired by the superior dignity and solemnity of his subject, his numbers become more flowing and harmonious, the sentiment and imagery more chaste, and marked, according to the spirit of the occasion, alternately by deep moral feeling, or a gentle soothing melancholy. This is peculiarly the case in the episode of the Five Ages or Eras of Human Destiny. Nowhere is this chapter of primeval tradition conceived in a more pure and graceful spirit of allegory. The successive stages of degeneracy in the lot and habits of our race are worked up through the corresponding subdivisions of the narrative, with much of the same power of poetical rhetoric as the details of Homer's Shield of Achilles, or the adventures of Ulysses in Hades; while the apostrophe, at the close, to the poet's own sad fate in

strikingly natural and original description of Winter, as the interpolation of an "Ionian sophistical poet" (ad 504—519., conf. præf. xix.); or to contradict himself elsewhere, by quoting (præf. xv.) portions of this very passage (526.) among the texts most characteristic of the pure Hesiodic manner. Here again the fallacy has been refuted and condemned by Hermann (Op. Misc. vi. p. 239.), who warmly vindicates the genuine character of this "höchst malerische Beschreibung der Winterkälte." It is to be regretted that this, and other rash theories of Göttling, should have been adopted and inculcated in the article "Hesiod" of Dr. Smith's valuable Dictionary of Classical Biography. A repertory of that nature ought surely to embrace but the fundamental and established truths of classical science, to the exclusion of all such random conjectures.

having his lot cast in the latest and worst condition of degraded humanity, is singularly touching and effective. Equally happy in its kind is the briefer more condensed narrative of the same pernicious change in the once happy lot of mankind by the opening of the Box of Pandora. The description of the Demons of Disease, when released from their prison, stalking to and fro in gloomy silence among the haunts of men, and that of the good Spirits hovering around the earth and taking account of the righteous or evil ways of its inhabitants, are among the images offering the nearest approach to the sublime to be found in the poem.

Descriptions.

Hesiod's pictures of nature are among his most effective passages. That of winter[1] is the most graphic and, upon the whole, the most elaborate specimen of descriptive eloquence in which he has indulged. It offers an apt commentary on his own most uncourteous stigma on the climate of his native locality[2], evincing both how sensitive he was to inclement weather, and how lively the experience with which his mountain residence supplied him. With this exception, his descriptions are rather spirited sketches than highly coloured drawings. Such are, for example, the few rapid touches with which he brings home to the apprehension of those who have experienced them, the discomforts and the enjoyments of the midsummer heat on the shores of the Mediterranean.[3]

Moral doctrines.

The rules of life and conduct interspersed throughout the poem, sometimes in the form of rustic proverbs or parables[4], are distinguished by terseness

[1] 501. sqq. [2] 639 [3] 580. sqq.
[4] 40. sq. 238. 291. sq. 309. 359. sqq. 684. 717. sqq. 761.

and point, often by a purity of sentiment and a knowledge of human nature as creditable to the head as to the heart of the author. Many have been adopted as texts for special commentary the most distinguished philosophers of later ages.[1] Some embody, almost word for word, fundamental dogmas of the Christian moral code. "The road to Vice," we are told in one place, "may easily be travelled by crowds; for it is smooth, and her dwelling is nigh. But the path of Virtue is long, and steep, and rugged."[2] With this more judicious element of Hesiodic ethics are intermingled various superstitious maxims[3], such as appear trifling or even ludicrous to the modern reader. To several, however, even of these, a more serious importance must have attached in the primitive schools of philosophy, as appears from their having been embodied among the esoteric doctrines of the Pythagorean sect.[4] Hesiod's religious views, however, in the higher sense, are, as referred to the Pagan standard, of a singularly pure and practical tendency. The gods are represented, not as arbitrary despots, themselves the slaves of personal caprice and passion, or of a blind necessity: but as wise and just rulers and arbiters of the affairs of men. The doctrine of an all-seeing Providence, whose scrutiny and retributive justice no human crime can escape, is throughout as distinctly and solemnly, as often beautifully, inculcated.[5]

[1] See Gaisf. and Göttl. ad locc.

[2] 285. sqq. This text has been quoted and commented by Plato, Rep. p. 364 C.D., Legg. p. 718 B.; also by Xenophon, Lucian, Plutarch, Eustathius, and others ap. Gaisf. ad loc.

[3] 727. sqq. 763. sqq.

[4] See Göttl. ad vv. 725. 740. 746.

[5] 105. 265. 247. sqq. 704. 236. sqq. 331.

Hesiod's system of rural economy, like Homer's art of war, belongs to the historical rather than the literary antiquities of Greece. A few remarks, therefore, will here suffice on one or two points more immediately illustrative of the age or habits of the author. The instructions relative to his favourite art of agriculture are few and simple, and so blended with others bearing on moral duties, as nowhere to assume the form of a methodical system. Nor, as already remarked, was his work ever intended as a regular Georgic, or treatise on rural husbandry. Its object was to reform the character and condition in life of a disreputable brother, by impressing on him the value of the virtues and pursuits of the respectable citizen. Among these the poet dwells first on industry, as indispensable to all the others; secondly, on agriculture, as the kind of industry best adapted to his brother's circumstances; thirdly, on those elementary branches of the art more immediately open to a needy man. Hence may be explained the absence of any notice of olive-husbandry, proverbially the most expensive and precarious of all. That it was so considered by the poet himself, or his disciples, is evinced by a passage cited by Pliny from one of the lost poems which passed current under Hesiod's name.[1] The anomaly also, that, in a treatise on agriculture, no allusion should be made to manure, with various other similar omissions, likewise disappears upon a more accurate estimate of the real scope of the poem. Rural economy.

7. The inquiry into the age of Hesiod, as represented by the author of the Works, is identified with the Age of the author.

[1] Marckscheff. Hesiod. frg. 198.

question of the comparative antiquity of Hesiod and Homer. Any analysis of the trite varieties of opinion current among the antients on this question may be dispensed with, as all confessedly devoid of historical basis, and resting on conjectural data which the modern scholar may claim an equal privilege of appreciating for himself.[1] The whole brunt of the inquiry centres in the internal evidence of the poems as to the state of manners, arts, and political government familiar to their respective authors. The balance of argument is, upon the whole, on the side of Homer, as has also been the award of the critical public. Much, however, of the evidence on which that award proceeds is essentially fallacious, being derived from peculiarities of matter and style, resulting from a diversity in the genius of the two poets rather than of the periods at which they flourished.

The æra of Hesiod is defined, on his own authority, as at least a generation subsequent to the foundation of the Æolian Cuma, dated in the received chronology about 1000 B.C. The age of Homer is, in the legend, similarly restricted, and there may be no absolute obligation to carry it farther back; although, on grounds already stated, it has been allowed to range conjecturally over a more remote period of antiquity.

Stress has been laid, as argument of Hesiod's juniority, on his use of the terms Hellas and Panhellene[2], in their later familiar application to the whole Greek land and nation. A more subtle argument of

[1] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 359.; Thiersch, Ueb. Hesiod, p. 9. sqq.; Göttl. præf. p. xvii. sq.

[2] 651. 526. Even in the probably interpolated passage of the Iliad (II. 530.), the phrase Παναχαιούς implies a distinction between the Hellenes proper, of Thessaly, and the remainder of the race.

this kind, though not without its value, has been founded[1] on the substitution of Nomos by Hesiod, for the Themis of Homer, as the familiar term for law or justice.[2] Reasonable weight also attaches to Hesiod's habitual employment of the term Basileus in its later republican sense of civil magistrate, rather than in that of chief, or king.[3] Herein may fairly be surmised a substitution, partial or complete, of constitutional for monarchal forms of government. The use of fixed names for the months of the year, with the nice tripartite or quadripartite subdivisions of their days, seems also to imply an advance in this elementary branch of science.[4] But although the astronomical notices, as naturally suggested by his subject, are more numerous in Hesiod, there is no trace in his poem of any substantial advance either in the theory or practice of the science itself. The subtle attempts to extract specific dates from the Bœotian

[1] Thiersch, p. 13.

[2] Works, 274. 386. If verses 374. sqq. can be considered as alluding to the law of succession established in Thebes by Philolaus in 728 B. C. (Göttl. ad l.), the result must be fatal to Hesiod's hitherto recognised claims to high antiquity.

[3] See Appendix F. Far less to the purpose is K. O. Müller's attempt (Hist. of Greek Lit. vol. I. p. 77.) to derive from Hesiod's stigma on the conduct of those functionaries, or from his quarrel with his brother, proof of an unsettled and anarchical state of society in Bœotia in the poet's time, or of the "lasting state of confusion and strife, sometimes extending into the bosom of private families," which the imagination of Müller has contrasted with the flourishing condition of affairs on the Asiatic side of the Ægæan. A family quarrel about a right of heritage were in any case but slender ground for so sweeping a conclusion. The distressed condition however of the poet's own parents in Cuma, as described by himself, and their migration, in order to better their lot, to a rugged inhospitable village of the Bœotian mountains, is in itself a conclusive and obvious antidote to any internal evidence derivable from the same poem in favour of Müller's theory.

[4] Göttl. ad 763. 502.

poet's incidental allusions to the phenomena of the fixed stars, or from his mythical catalogue of human generations, though once sanctioned by illustrious authority, are now universally acknowledged to be fallacious in principle and nugatory in their results.[1]

Argument of the recent age of Hesiod has also been discovered[2] in his allusion to the generation who fought at Troy as a race of demigods, beatified heroes, dwelling in the "happy isles," free from care or sorrow; whereas, with Homer, these personages are merely illustrious mortals, subject to the same passions and sufferings as their descendants, and condemned at their death to the same dismal after-life of Hades, so gloomily depicted in the Odyssey. Hence it has been inferred that the popular hero-worship, as a distinct element of the Pagan Pantheon, was first fully matured between the ages of the two poets; that Hesiod was therefore much the younger of the two. This reasoning, however, is founded on a misapprehension of their respective styles of composition. It was inherent in the very essence of the action of the Iliad, and indispensable to the spirit of its human characters in themselves or in their contrast to the divine mechanism of the poem, that they should appear as brilliant realities, not as dim reflexions of a mystical demonology; should live, fight, and die as mortal heroes, subjected in death, as in life, to the ordinary course of mortal destiny. The doctrine of their apotheosis and worship, even if fully developed in Homer's time, could not with any propriety have been brought prominently into play. Very different was the case with the author of the Works, who

[1] Robinson, præf. ad Hesiod. opp. ed. Loesner, p. lix. sqq.
[2] Thiersch, p. 11. sqq.

appropriately avails himself of the shadowy disguise in which popular superstition enveloped the glories of his ancestors, to impart heroic interest and awe to the mythology of his didactic poem.

Nor can any great weight be attached to the traces of a more advanced state of commerce and trade which some allege to be perceptible in Hesiod. The subject of the Works and Days obviously supplied more frequent and favourable opportunity for such allusions than that of either Iliad or Odyssey. Yet passages might, perhaps, be cited from the latter poems, tending even here to counterbalance any argument that could fairly be urged on the other side. Homer's mention of manure, for example, to which Hesiod, in a poem offering so much more favourable opening for such notices, has never alluded, would, if such reasoning were of any weight at all, tell heavily in the opposite scale.[1]

THE THEOGONY.

8. After a long proœmium, or succession of proœmia, addressed to the Muses, and propitiating their favour with that of the other deities in aid of his undertaking, the poet enters on the immediate subject of his work. Theogony.

I. In the beginning was Chaos[2]; next appeared Terra, Tartarus, and Eros.

Chaos generates Erebus and Night; of Night spring Æther and Day. Terra produces Uranus and Pontus, the former of whom she espouses.

[1] See Appendix L.

[2] 116. In this epitome the list of names has been limited to those of the more distinguished members of the divine family, or to such as were more or less essential to a full understanding of the spirit and continuity of the Hesiodic system.

II. From Terra and Uranus[1] are born Ocean, Hyperion, Iapetus; Thia, Rhea, Themis, Cronus; the Cyclopes, Briareus, and the rest of the Titans, male and female.

Uranus, dreading encroachments by his children on his supreme power, confines them in the body of their mother Terra, who, oppressed by the burthen, conspires with them against the authority of their father. Cronus, from the recesses of her body, assaults and emasculates Uranus[2] as he approaches to embrace her, and casts the mutilated parts into the sea. The foam which they create, when tossed in the waves, generates Venus[3]; the blood-drops from the wound the Erinnyes and Giants.[4]

Night[5] produces the Fates, Death, Sleep, Dreams, Strife. Strife generates a race of kindred evils and vices.

From Pontus[6] springs Nereus, who begets of Terra the marine deities Thaumas, Phorcys, and Ceto. From Nereus and the Oceanid Doris are born the fifty Nereids or sea-nymphs.

Electra, daughter of Ocean, bears to Thaumas, Iris and the Harpies.[7]

Phorcys begets of Ceto, Enyo and the Gorgons. From the body of the gorgon Medusa, when slain by Perseus, spring Chrysaor and Pegasus. From Chrysaor and Calliroe, daughter of Ocean, are born the giant Geryoneus slain by Hercules, and the dragon Echidna.

Echidna and Typhaon[8] procreate Orthus and Cerberus, the Hydra and the Chimæra. From Orthus and the Chimæra issue the Sphinx and Nemean lion.

From Ocean and his sister Tethys[9] spring the rivers and fountains.

Thia bears to Hyperion, the Sun[10], the Moon, and Aurora.

The Titan Crius begets of his sister Eurybia, Astræus, Pallas, and Perses. From Astræus and Aurora issue Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus; from the same father and Erigenia, Hesperus and the other stars.

From Pallas and Styx[11] issue Zelus, Nice, Kratos, and Bie, who with their mother first among the gods declared for the cause of Jupiter in his contest with Cronus and the Titans. In reward of this service Styx is ordained the solemn oath of the gods, and her sons are honoured with precedence in the household and

[1] 133. [2] 178. [3] 191. [4] 185. [5] 211. [6] 233.
[7] 265. [8] 306. [9] 337. [10] 371. [11] 383.

attendance on the person of Jove. The Titans Cœus and Phœbe procreate Latona and Asteria. Perses and Asteria give birth to Hecate, whose varied attributes are described.

III. Rhea[1] bears to Cronus Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Pluto, and Neptune, whom their father successively swallows up, warned by a prophecy of his own parents Uranus and Terra, that he should be dethroned by one of his children. Rhea, at the birth of Jove, by the advice and connivance of her father and mother, presents Cronus with a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, which he devours in place of the infant. Jove is nourished secretly in Crete. The stone acts as a vomit upon Cronus, who throws up his other children.[2]

Jove liberates his uncles the Titans, enchained by Uranus, who provide him with thunder and lightning, the arms by which he secures his dominion over gods and men.[3]

Iapetus espouses the Oceanid Clymene, who bears him Atlas, Menœtius, Prometheus, and Epimetheus. Menœtius is banished by Jupiter to Erebus for impiety. Atlas is charged with the support of the heavens.

Prometheus, guilty of scoffing at Jove's divine rite of sacrifice[4], of robbing heaven of its fire, and of imparting the use of that element to mankind, is chained to a rock, and tortured by a vulture, in Mount Caucasus. To punish the impiety of his accomplice mortals Jupiter sends upon earth the fatal gift of Pandora[5], mother of the race of women, who is received and harboured by Epimetheus, the youngest of the four ill-starred Iapetidæ.

Jove releases Briareus, Cottus, and Gyges[6], from the durance to which they had been condemned by their father Uranus. With their aid, after a desperate conflict, he conquers his father Cronus and the rest of the Titans, whom he banishes to the infernal regions.[7] His own three allies are rewarded with dwellings on the neighbouring shore of Ocean, where they guard the gates of the Titanian prison.

Tartarus and Terra beget the monster Typhœus, from whom[8] spring the noxious winds and vapours, and whom Jupiter destroys with his thunderbolts.

[1] 453. [2] 495. [3] 501. sqq.

[4] 521. sqq. There can be little doubt that this legend of Jove's want of skill in discriminating the savouriest part of the ox embodies a primitive pasquinade on the absurdity of the favourite diet of the gods being supposed the same as that of their human subjects on earth.

[5] 570. [6] 617. [7] 717. [8] 821.

IV. Jupiter is chosen King of Heaven[1] by his brothers and comrades in arms. He first espouses Metis, whom, when pregnant with Pallas, he swallows up, apprised by Uranus and Terra, through the same prophetic warning formerly vouchsafed by them to his own father, that the infant, if allowed to come to the birth, would prove more powerful than himself. From Themis, his second wife[2], Jove procreates the Hours, Dice, Irene, and Eunomia; from the Oceanid Eurynome the three Graces; from Ceres, Proserpine, who espouses Pluto; from the Titaness Mnemosyne, the Muses; from Latona, Apollo and Artemis; from Juno, Hebe Mars and Ilithya. From his own head he produces Pallas. Juno in her turn spontaneously gives birth to Vulcan.

Mars and Venus generate Terror, Panic, and Harmonia, who espouses Cadmus.

Jupiter begets Mercury of Maja, Bacchus of Semele, Hercules of Alcmena.

Vulcan espouses the Grace Aglaia; Bacchus, Ariadne; Hercules, Hebe. From the Oceanid Perseïs and the Sun are born Æetes and Circe. The Oceanid Idyïa bears Medea to Æetes.

The offspring of goddesses by mortals[3] are: Plutus by Iasius of Ceres; Ino and Semele by Cadmus of Harmonia; Memnon and Emathion of Aurora by Tithonus; Phaëton of the same goddess by Cephalus; Medeüs of Medea by Jason; Phocus of the Nereid Psamathe by Æacus. Thetis bears Achilles to Peleus; Venus, Æneas to Anchises; from Circe are born Agrius, Latinus, and Telegonus to Ulysses; from Calypso, Nausithoüs and Nausinoüs to the same hero.

Merits and defects of its composition and doctrines.

9. The Theogony, though devoted to a higher order of subject, and aspiring to a more dignified style, is a poem of greatly inferior merit to the Works and Days. To the genuine originality of the latter poem it can advance no pretension. As the earliest complete standard of the Greek system of cosmogony, it is, no doubt, a valuable relic. But the elements of that system, amid the variety which popular tradition placed at the author's disposal, are selected with little judgement, and arranged with as little taste or propriety. Those charges of inconsistency, of alternate diffuseness

[1] 883. [2] 901. [3] 965. sqq.

and abruptness, dryness and tautology, which have been so lavishly heaped upon both poems by modern commentators, if unmerited or exaggerated in the case of the Works, are amply justified in that of the Theogony.' How far these defects are to be laid at the door of the original author, how far they may have been engrafted on the genuine text in its progress to posterity, is a question which, while affording a fairer field for conjectural criticism than in some other similar cases, must yet, in the absence of historical data, remain essentially barren of practical results. The more critical view however, even in the present case, appears to be the reverse of that generally popular in the modern schools. It is certainly more probable in itself, that such anomalies in a national text-book of religious dogma should have originated in the excitement of a single fervid and wayward genius of a semi-barbarous age, and have been transmitted to posterity in the form in which they were first promulgated, than that they should have been deliberately introduced by the studied artifice of the bookmakers of a later age of literary culture.[1]

The bond of unity which the Hellenic system of divine genealogy supplied for the composition of a didactic epopee was the succession of dynasties in the celestial royal family. It is one which, lax and ineffective as it appears in this poem, was capable, under more genial treatment, of being turned to better account. These vicissitudes of divine dynasty, also, though more obscurely, referred to by Homer[2], were evidently meant to shadow forth, through the rude veil of enigma in which they are shrouded, the early progress, not only of physical creation, but of human

[1] See Appendix M. [2] Il. v. 898., xiv. 203. 274., viii. 479. alibi.

society; the gradual ascendancy of mind over matter, of intellect and order over confusion and barbarism. The stages of the progress, which have been indicated by corresponding numbers in the above epitome, are grotesquely symbolised by the different expedients, or varieties of the same expedient, to which the successive generations of rulers resort for arresting or impeding the course of revolutionary developement as figured in the birth and enterprising character of their respective offspring. The inert mass Chaos resolves itself into two more active material agencies, personified as Uranus (Heaven) and Gaia (Earth). From their uncouth embraces proceed the Titans, a race of livelier more animated abstractions. These their father, as a summary check to their interference with his divine power, relodges, as successively brought to light, in the bowels of their mother. He is, however, discomfited by Cronus (Time), the youngest and most vigorous among them, to whom he abandons his throne. The policy of the new ruler in regard to the rising generation, while substantially the same, is in so far an improvement upon that of his father, that, warned by its ill success, he adopts the safer mode of embowelling his progeny in his own entrails instead of those of their mother. This device is overmatched in its turn by the more advanced intelligence of those with whom he has to deal, and he too is defeated and deposed. The next and last stage of divine revolution reflects still more clearly the spirit of the legend. In the person of Jupiter, the intellectual organisation of the world was to be finally consummated. He espouses accordingly Metis, or Wisdom. His offspring by her is also preordained by Destiny, if brought to the birth, to

inflict on him the same fate as had successively overtaken his father and grandfather. To avoid this danger, following up and improving upon their abortive series of devices, he takes the more certain precaution of swallowing both mother and child; thus consolidating absolute wisdom with absolute power, and leaving neither opportunity nor ability in any other quarter for successful interference with his supreme authority.

To this theory of progressive intellectual developement as shadowed forth in the Theogony might perhaps be objected, that it is not so much by their own more advanced wisdom, as through the subtle devices of their mothers, Terra and Rhea respectively [1], that Saturn and Jupiter are each represented in the poet's description as dethroning their fathers. Jupiter, it might further be urged, even in his last decisive measure of cosmogonical policy, acts under the advice of his grandfather and grandmother.[2] That the apparent anomaly, however, lies not in the original system, but with the author of the poem, who has failed to appreciate the finer spirit of his subject, may be inferred from the parallel of other later, but no less authoritative Greek theological standards. With Æschylus [3], for example, Prometheus (Forethought) and his mother Themis [4] (Order) appear as principal agents in the last stage of divine revolution, and as cognisant, and probably promoters and counsellors, of those which preceded. Prometheus, in the same series of mythical history, is the acknowledged type of intellectual advancement. The functions assigned him in the system of Æschylus are,

[1] 160. 469. sqq. 626.
[2] 891. sqq.
[3] Prometh. vinct. 755. sqq. 873. 947. 955. sqq.
[4] Hesiod makes Clymene mother of Prometheus. Theog. 508.

therefore, in close harmony with the interpretation above proposed, of the primitive symbolic import of the legend of physical progress. But in the Hesiodic fable Prometheus is not brought on the scene at all, until after the establishment of Jupiter's dynasty. In the Theogony, again, Terra[1] administers the vomit which forces Saturn to disgorge the elder branches of his family. In other versions of the legend, the same medicinal function is assigned, in equally apt conformity with the view here taken of the genuine spirit of that legend, to Metis, or Wisdom[2], whom Jove afterwards espouses.

Parallel of Homer.

10. That, amid a certain unity of substance, a considerable latitude was permitted to poetical discretion in the details of the Hellenic system of cosmogony, is further evinced by a comparison of the different versions given by Homer of several of the most important of those details, versions displaying, for the most part, a great superiority of taste and judgement. In the Theogony, Ocean, in palpable repugnance to the received principle, not only of the Greek, but of all Pagan cosmogony, is a being of secondary order, one of the common herd of Titans, produce of the incestuous connexion of Uranus and Terra. He is even made younger brother of Pontus or the Sea, who in every other system appears but as one of his own subordinate members. With Homer, who is here unquestionably the organ of the most popular and primitive doctrine, the same Ocean is the progenitor, not only of the whole liquid creation, but of the whole divine race, the father, not the offspring, of Uranus and Terra; the vivified chaos, in fact, or common parent of all matter.[3] Homer consequently knows no separate Chaos, its functions being merged in those of

[1] 494. [2] Apollod. I. ii. 1. [3] Il. XIV. 201. 246. 302., XXI. 195. sqq.

Ocean. That the disgusting fable of the mutilation of Uranus was unknown to, or repudiated by, Homer, may also be inferred from the different account given by him of the birth of Venus. With him the Goddess of Love is daughter of Jupiter and Dione[1]; with Hesiod she is the spontaneous fruit of the filthy parricidal act of Saturn. According to Hesiod, Jupiter is the youngest son of Saturn and Rhea, preserved from his father's gullet as the instrument of deliverance to his brethren, and of vengeance on their devourer. By Homer he is described as the first-born of his father.[2] Homer's version, therefore, of the revolution which placed Jupiter on the throne of Saturn must have differed from that of Hesiod. Both systems have the defect of exhibiting mind as subordinate to matter in the order of mundane developement. Of creation in the higher sense, or the calling into existence of habitable animated worlds, by the fiat of a supreme eternal spirit, out of chaos or nonentity, as in the Mosaic system, neither Hesiod nor Homer manifests any conception. The Titans, or properly animated race of gods, appear but in the second stage of cosmogonical succession, merging slowly out of the inert masses of Chaos and Earth. With Hesiod, even Heaven, the familiar poetical type of divine abstraction, is the offspring of Terra, the equally familiar type of gross matter. The antiquity assigned by Hesiod to Eros, or Love, in the order of creation, seems to contain the germ of a fine image, which might, with a more genial poet, have aided in idealising the dry materialism of his cosmogony, but which the Bœotian minstrel has allowed to remain completely in the background.

[1] Il. v. 370.

[2] Il. xiii. 355., xv. 166.

Incoherence of the action.

In addition to the didactic mysticism of the subject, the Hesiodic narrative, poetically considered, labours under a monotonous sameness in the succession of the three principal events. To relieve this monotony required a skilful application of the more delicate resources of epic art, tact and variety of arrangement, appropriate interspersion of episodes, and a spirited management of the genealogical and illustrative details. These, however, were expedients foreign to the genius of the author, who may rather be charged with exaggerating the natural drawbacks of his subject by his desultory and incoherent mode of treatment. Not only do the leading heads of narrative stand in comparatively slender epic connexion with each other, floating as insulated masses in the sea of genealogical commonplace, but, even in their individual capacity, are mutilated and disjointed. Sometimes a commencement, sometimes a conclusion, sometimes an important incident fails altogether, is left to the conjecture of the reader, or must be sought in some widely separate portion of the text. From the commencement down to the mutilation of Uranus the narrative pursues a tolerably coherent course. Here, however, it abruptly breaks off, leaving the first revolution of the series incomplete. The only specified results of the parricidal act of Cronus are, the birth of Venus and some inferior deities, with a punning application by the outraged old sovereign of the name "Titans" to his children, because they had "stretched out" their hands against their father.[1] The narrative then quietly resumes its ordinary genealogical course. No allusion whatever is made to the deposition of Uranus, or the usurpation of Cronus. It is only after an

[1] 207. sqq.

interval of about two hundred and fifty lines, in the course of which, too, Jupiter is repeatedly put forward, episodically indeed, but prominently and therefore inappropriately, in the light of supreme ruler [1], that Saturn and Rhea are abruptly introduced as reigning in the stead of their father and mother [2], and the new king as engaged in a similar set of expedients to deliver himself from the encumbrance of his own increasing family.

The conclusion of this head of the subject is equally lame. Cronus, outwitted in his turn by the artifices of his wife and youngest son, disgorges his elder progeny, and there we leave him.[3] Jupiter then releases his uncles [4], the sons of Uranus, from the captivity to which they had been condemned by their father; and they, in gratitude for this benefit, supply their nephew with the arms by which he obtained and secured his royal authority. This, according to the natural interpretation of the context, would imply that Jupiter, by the aid of his uncles, usurped the supreme dignity immediately after the successful intrigue of his mother against his father. In the sequel, however, after another long series of genealogical commonplace or episodical illustration, we are told that he did not obtain possession of his empire until after an exterminating war against those very uncles, previously described as his friends.[5]

Upon every sound principle of epic composition, the narrative of this Titanic war and victory of Jupiter ought to have formed the immediate sequel of the successful conspiracy of Rhea against her husband. The two subjects, however, are separated by

[1] 386. sqq. 411. sqq. [2] 461. sqq.
[3] 495. sqq. [4] 501. sqq. [5] 630. sqq.

an interval of upwards of a hundred lines[1] devoted to the episodes of Prometheus and Pandora, and to other matters standing in no sort of connexion with either of the above two principal heads of subject, but throughout which the same Jupiter, who, we are told in the ensuing narrative of the war, was not elected king until after its conclusion[2], appears, without explanation or apology, as supreme ruler of the universe. In the same strange spirit of incoherence the main object and grand result of the war, the instalment of Jupiter in the royal authority, is separated from the conclusion of the combat itself by an interval of another hundred and fifty lines[3] of unimportant, or altogether extraneous matter. Such are the birth and adventures of Typhoeus, where Jove again, before occupying his father's throne, appears, as in the affair of Prometheus, in full exercise of the royal authority.[4]

Proœmia of the Theogony.

11. The Proœmium of the Theogony is characterised by anomalies of structure no less obvious than those in the body of the work. While its length exceeds all just proportion to that of the poem which it ushers in, it exhibits, with the incoherence common to the rest of the narrative, a diffuseness proper to itself, offering, in fact, little more than a disjointed repetition of the same or closely similar images. There is, therefore, much plausibility in the opinion of Hermann, now generally adopted by criti-

[1] 505—617. sqq. [2] 883. [3] 735—883.

[4] 820. Numerous other minor inconsistencies or redundancies occur throughout the details of the text, of which it may be difficult to say how far they are to be ascribed to the author of the poem, how far to the license of transcribers and interpolators. See Göttl. p. xx. Compare 117. with 128.; 211. with 217. and 904.; 736. with 807.; 287. with 979.; 734. with 817. In 212. ἔτικτε is an apparent corruption of ἔπειτα, the substitution of which restores the sense.

cal commentators, that these hundred lines of introduction comprise, not one, but several, of those proœmia habitually prefixed to the epic compositions of this early period in the public rehearsals, and afterwards embodied in the editions of the poems as portions of the genuine text. It might naturally happen, that in different manuscripts, current during the earlier ages of writing simultaneously with the more popular mode of oral promulgation, different proœmia, containing perhaps certain passages or verses in common, might be preferred. These again the editors of later times, unable to decide between their respective claims to priority, might naturally, in their efforts to distribute equal justice to all, have abridged or condensed into one.[1]

Closing lines of the poem.

The essentially desultory character of the Hesiodic school of poetry not only held out great temptation to the addition of such spurious proœmia, but might, where a certain congeniality of subject existed, suggest the connexion with each other in recitation, or even in publication, of works originally destined by their authors to be altogether distinct. Traces of this process are observable in the last two lines of the Theogony, where the poet, after "having sung the progeny of goddesses," is made to invite his hearers to listen to his "song concerning the race of women." This seems a plain allusion to another Hesiodic poem, the Catalogue of Women, as having formed a subsequent link in a chain of recital. Unless, therefore, the same author be assumed to have composed both works, and to have been in the habit of reciting them in continuous order, the latter portion of the Theogony must have been tampered with,

[1] See Appendix N.

for the convenience of such recital, by some Hesiodic rhapsodist.

Style. 12. The style of the Theogony is marked by the same anomaly and incongruity as its materials. The proœmium, comprising the first hundred and fifteen lines, apart from a few Æolo-Bœotic idioms, is very similar in character to the parallel portions of the Homeric hymns. The basis of the main text of the work is little more than a series of names or dry genealogical details, strung together by the customary mechanism of epic commonplace. In the episodes or illustrative portions of the narrative, where greater scope existed for the display of individual taste, the style may be described as a mixture of the Hesiodic and Homeric. Where the tenor of the subject was favourable to the more homely and familiar manner of the Works and Days, as, for example, in the episodes of Pandora and Hecate, an occasional correspondence, sometimes to the letter, of whole verses and passages affords evidence that, whether the same or a different poet, the author of the one work borrowed from, or was influenced by, the contents of the other. There may also frequently be recognised in these portions of the Theogony a tendency to the same quaint brevity of expression, homely simplicity of narrative, and placid tone of versification, which form the pervading characteristics of the sister poem; but with little or none of its genuine originality, terse and vigorous phraseology, or deep vein of moral sentiment.[1] Where, on the other hand, the subject

[1] Compare 254. 419. 438. 443. 447. with Works 5, 6, 7. 323. 377. 760.; Theog. 440. with Works 616. 720.; Theog. 426. 442. with Works 374.; Theog. 571. sqq. with Works 70. sqq.; Theog. 613. with Works 105.; Theog. 563. sqq. with Works 50. sqq.; Theog. 150. sqq. with Works 147. sqq.

assumes a more dignified character, as in the description of the wars in heaven, and other more exciting parts of the narrative, the homely style of the Works disappears, and gives place to the more ambitious tone of language and sentiment proper to the secondary heroic or Homeric school. The features of Homeric correspondence are now no longer confined to the common stock of epic mannerism: they extend to whole verses or passages[1], betraying, in the mode and occasion of their introduction, the imitative genius of the author; and, wherever the ambition displays itself to soar into the higher regions of the martial or terrible, the result is a confused crowding or nauseous repetition[2] of bombastic phrases and overdrawn images. A certain tautology, both in sound and expression, is indeed characteristic of the whole illustrative element of the poem, and recurs under so great similarity of form in the parallel passages[3], as to baffle all attempts to explain

[1] Conf. 58—9. with Od. x. 469. sqq., xix. 152., xxiv. 142.; 91. sq. with Od. viii. 172. sq.; 228. with Od. xi. 612.; 319. sqq. with Il. vi. 179. sqq.; 705. with Il. xx. 66.; 720. with Il. viii. 16.; 739. with Il. xx. 65.; 748. sqq. with Od. x. 83. sqq.; 759. sqq. with Od. xi. 15. sqq.; 768. with Od. x. 534.; 811. with Il. viii. 15.; 245. with Il. xviii. 40. sq.; 272. with Il. v. 441. sq.; 289. sq. with Il. vi. 423. sq.; 596. with Il. i. 601. alibi, Od. ix. 161. alibi.

[2] 629. sqq., for example, are in a true Homeric vein of martial description; but at 635. all is again marred by that offensive harping on the same idea, so destructive of the effect which it is meant to enhance.

[3] 429, 430. 432. 436. 439. 443. sqq.; 576, 578.; 581. 584.; 590, 591.; 620, 621. 623. 629. 635.; 679. 693. 695.; 839. 841. 843. 847. 858. 861. sq. 867. These several sets of verses are but so many series of repetitions of the same stale hyperboles. With the last seven lines, descriptive of the earth groaning, burning, boiling, melting, &c., over and over again, amid thunder, crash, flash, &c. &c., may be collated 690—707., which are in so very similar a style of extravagance, that, in perusing the two passages, one is scarcely conscious which is which. It is certainly less likely that this strange and glaring tautology should, as Hermann and others sup-

it away upon the modern principle of shifting the responsibility of every defect or eccentricity in an antient work from the original author to its transcribers or editors.

Age and authorship.

13. In applying the results of the above analysis to the question concerning the age and authorship of the Theogony, in its relation to the Works and Days, it will be proper, in the first place, to have distinctly before us the historical data on the subject, in so far as popular tradition, or the opinion of the leading antient critics, may deserve to rank as historical authority. Although the principal Hesiodic poems furnished a more or less fertile theme for critical speculation to the Alexandrian grammarians, there remains no trace of scepticism on their part, or on that of their predecessors of the early Attic school, as to the common origin of these two works. The first extant notice of difference of opinion is from Pausanias, who, while himself designating the Theogony as the "imputed" work of Hesiod, describes the local tradition of the poet's fellow-citizens as denying its title to that honour.[1] The authority of the Heliconian critics, whatever may be its value in other respects, certainly possesses that of impartiality. As the Theogony was the standard national work on a subject of highest national importance, they would, but for some strong evidence to the contrary, have been more likely to assert than repudiate the claims of their native bard to its production. The internal evidence of the poems tends also to bear out their opinion. The fundamental pro-

pose, have been deliberately introduced by the compilers of a refined period of literature, than that it should spontaneously have proceeded from a single wayward or eccentric poet. The business of the professional bookmaker was to smooth down all such irregularities.

[1] IX. XXXI; conf. VIII. XVIII., IX. XXVII. 2. alibi.

perty of the Works and Days is a genuine unaffected simplicity, pervading, under such natural varieties of tone as the subject itself involved, every portion of the text. The Theogony, on the other hand, betrays, wherever it emerges from the routine of epic mannerism, an effort to imitate, combined in most cases with a zeal to exaggerate, a style not natural to its author, whether the ingenuous placidity of the Æolo-Bœotic, or the martial dignity of the Homeric muse.

The cautious critic will yet be disposed to hesitate before adopting these points of internal difference, strong as they may appear, as conclusive argument on the negative side, in opposition to the acquiescence of Aristarchus or Apollonius in the popular view, and to other partially redeeming features of correspondence already adverted to in dialect, numbers, versification, and idiomatic expression. There may also, perhaps, be observed, wherever the Theogony pursues a natural and equable tone of narrative, indications that the homely spirit of the genuine Hesiod was upon the whole more congenial to the talent of its author, than the heroic vein to which he often aspires. Might it not therefore be a fair question, whether the anomalies of the poem may not be the natural consequence of an ambition to excel in a style of composition to which the author's genius was not adapted. Could we figure to ourselves the poet of the Works a candidate for fame in the heroic department of his art, we might imagine the result not altogether dissimilar to a Theogony. It must, however, be admitted that some of the passages of the latter poem, marked by glaring exaggeration of parallel texts of the Works, savour more of the plagiarist than of

the same author.[1] Was it likely, it might also be asked, that a poet of so much native simplicity, both of personal character and style, as beams forth in the Works and Days, should be infected with this ambition to shine in a department of art so foreign to his genius?

Upon the whole, the balance of argument must, with modern critics, appear favourable to the Heliconian doctrine. Were the supporters of that doctrine disposed to subtilise on the point of internal evidence, it might perhaps be open to question, not merely whether the author of the Theogony, though evidently a disciple of the Æolo-Bœotic school, was the genuine Ascræan Hesiod, but whether he was a native Bœotian. Among the characteristics of the primitive Hesiod of the Works is a marked spirit of local nationality. Every allusion, historical or topographical, connects him, directly or indirectly, with Bœotia and Mount

[1] Compare, for example, in the fable of Pandora, as narrated in each work, the passages describing the withholding of fire by Jupiter, and its robbery by Prometheus: —

Works, 50. κρύψε δὲ πῦρ· τὸ μὲν αὖτις ἐῢς παῖς Ἰαπετοῖο
ἔκλεψ' ἀνθρώποισι, Διὸς παρὰ μητιόεντος,
ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι, λαθὼν Δία τερπικέραυνον.
τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς . . . .

Theog. 563. οὐκ ἐδίδου μελέοισι πυρὸς μένος ἀκαμάτοιο
ζωητοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἳ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσιν.
ἀλλά μιν ἐξαπάτησεν ἐῢς παῖς Ἰαπετοῖο
κλέψας ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγήν
ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι· δάκεν δ' ἄρα νειόθι θυμὸν
Ζῆν' ὑψιβρεμέτην· ἐχόλωσε δέ μιν φίλον ἦτορ
ὡς ἴδ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγήν . . . .

That the second of these passages is a servile copy or paraphrase of the first cannot admit of a doubt. Every idea, so simply expressed in the one, is expanded or diluted in the other by superfluous epithets or diffuse periphrasis. This criticism might be extended to other portions of each poem.

Helicon. In the Theogony, on the other hand, with the exception of the opening address to the Muses, the apocryphal character of which is admitted, there is nothing tending to identify the author with those regions. Several passages may even be adduced in an opposite sense. Among the twenty-five principal rivers, who figure as sons of Ocean, no Bœotian stream is included. As little trace is there of similar honour conferred on any Bœotian lake, fountain, or other poetical locality, in the various catalogues of Nereïds, Oceanids, and other figurative personages of the same class.

Apart from the copious traces above referred to of imitation or plagiarism, there is little in the style and diction of the Theogony indicating a more recent age than that of the Works and Days. The arguments derived from the greater apparent extent of geographical knowledge in the former poem prove comparatively little. The subject of the Works offered no similar opening for geographical allusions; while of the kindred class of evidence, from contemporary arts, manners, or events, the text of the Theogony, in its turn, is equally barren.

SHIELD OF HERCULES.

Shield of Hercules.

14. Amphitryon, constrained to retire from Argos for a season, in atonement of an involuntary fratricide, takes refuge in Thebes, where he is honourably received. He is accompanied in his banishment by his newly wedded spouse Alcmena, daughter of his slain kinsman Electryon. The heroine, however, refuses to admit him to her bed until he shall have fulfilled the condition on which she married him, by avenging the death of her brothers, slain in a war against the Taphians and Teleboans. On the night of the hero's return from the performance of this duty, Jupiter, having selected the Argive princess as the mother of an illustrious

hero and benefactor of the human race, visits her secretly and begets Hercules. By Amphitryon, later on the same night, she conceives Iphicles.

Hercules, on attaining man's estate, among other warlike expeditions, undertakes one[1] against Cycnus, son of Mars, a notorious brigand, who, supported by his divine father, infests the passes between Thessaly and Bœotia, despoiling not only ordinary travellers, but the pilgrims bearing gifts to the Pythian sanctuary.

On approaching the robber's haunt, the Theban hero, with his charioteer Iolaus, prepares for battle. His armour, the workmanship of Vulcan and gift of the gods, especially the richly adorned shield, is described in much detail.[2] Minerva[3] appears as patroness of Hercules, and encourages him to the combat.

On the approach of Cycnus, backed by his father and ally Mars, to dispute the passage, Hercules requests, in conciliatory terms, permission to proceed unmolested on a visit to Ceÿx king of Iolchos, father-in-law of Cycnus. Negotiation, however, proves vain. Hercules and Cycnus then engage on foot, and Cycnus is slain. Mars, rushing on to avenge the death of his son, is wounded. by Hercules, and borne off the field by his attendants Terror and Panic. The obsequies of Cycnus are performed by Ceÿx at Iolchos; but the tumulus raised over his grave is swept away by Apollo, in revenge of his outrageous treatment of the pilgrims to the Delphic shrine.

This poem partakes in no degree of the didactic character, usually held to be the distinctive feature of the Æolo-Bœotic school of minstrelsy. It treats a purely heroic subject in a purely heroic manner. It is, in fact, the only entire extant specimen of early heroic poetry, besides the Iliad and Odyssey, and, if taken as a sample of the voluminous library of lost compositions of the same class, would certainly convey no favourable impression of their merits. To unity of action it has as little pretension as the Theogony. The preliminary notice of the adventures of Amphitryon and birth of Hercules has no

[1] 57. sqq. [2] 139. sqq. [3] 325.

epic connexion with the encounter between the latter hero and Cycnus. There would be less ground for the charge of incoherence, had that encounter been the first exploit of Hercules. It might, then, as an illustration of the greatness to which he had just been described as predestined, have formed a sort of sequel to the narrative in which that announcement is made. But, in the subsequent text, the combat with Cycnus is stated to have been one of the later exploits of the hero[1], leaving, therefore, a wide gap between it and his birth and childhood. This anomaly is explained by the fact transmitted on trustworthy authority, that the first fifty-six lines, descriptive of the amour of Jupiter and Alcmena, are borrowed from another Hesiodic poem, the Catalogue of Women, and prefixed as exordium to the main action of the Shield.[2]

It were fruitless to speculate, in the absence of all historical data, how far this combination may be due to the original poet of the Shield, assuming, as would in that case be a reasonable inference, that the Catalogue and the Shield were by the same author. It is, perhaps, more probable, that the popular rhapsodists, in their public recitations of the main text of the Shield, should, in place of one of their usual inaugural proœmia to Jove, have preferred a passage of another accredited poem of Hesiod, describing the hero's nativity, of his own share in which important event the god did not disdain to be proud.

The main narrative, commencing with verse 57., is open to no objection on the score of epic consistency. It is, in fact, but a fugitive ballad, descriptive of a single quarrel and victory of Hercules, the causes and

[1] 94. 359. alibi. [2] Schol. Ald. ap. Gaisf. et Göttl. Præf. ad Scut. Herc.

results of which are detailed in their natural order. The poem, however, forfeits all claim to propriety of structure by the undue proportion of the episodical element, two thirds of the whole being devoted to an elaborate description of the hero's arms, especially his shield. This digression, accordingly, has usurped, in familiar usage, the title and honours of principal subject.

Composition and style.

15. The composition and style are marked, as in the Theogony, by broad features of difference in different parts of the text. The introductory and concluding portions, where the narrative pursues a somewhat more equable course, are of a comparatively simple and pleasing tenor. No sooner, however, does the subject become more excited, or the author himself aspire to the pathetic or sublime, than the defects already noted in the Theogony appear in still more extravagant forms. They are chiefly observable in the description of the Shield itself, from verse 139. downwards. The style here suddenly becomes wild and fantastic without originality, and turgid without dignity. These blemishes are rendered the more offensive by an evident ambition to emulate or surpass other higher standards of epic excellence. The imitation of Homer might indeed be characterised as servile, were it not for the clumsy efforts of the copyist, by gross exaggeration, to impart novelty to his borrowed materials. While the whole design of the episode is modelled on that of the Shield of Achilles, there is scarcely an individual image with which the reader is familiar in Homer's brilliant description but has here been reproduced to the letter, or in substance, under the tasteless modifications above noticed. But of that orderly succession of parts, that

happy apportioning of the masses of text to the corresponding heads of subject, that mixture of simplicity and variety in the illustrative details, that elegance of structure and harmony of versification which in the episode of the Iliad constitute each descriptive group a miniature epic poem, not a trace is here to be found. The author of the Hesiodic Shield seems rather to have sought to enhance the effect of his borrowed materials by the wild disorder of their distribution; sometimes crowded together, sometimes scattered at random in broken fragments among the equally ill-digested heads of new matter supplied from his own resources. Not only is the poetical law against rude collisions of heterogeneous elements completely set at nought, but the text is often, to all appearance, purposely so disposed, that the same line contains the conclusion of one and the commencement of another image of the most offensively opposite character. The joyous is suddenly converted into the pathetic, the tender into the terrible, with an almost burlesque effect. Attention may be more especially directed to the transition from the adventure of Perseus and Medusa to the paraphrase of Homer's description of the "two cities," which, by a most preposterous fancy, are here made the head ornaments of the two surviving Gorgons.[1] Equally incongruous is the change from the warlike to the peaceful community, where the same line transports us from the horrible description of the demon Achlys to the golden gates[2] and festive choirs of the happy community. In the sequel are hurried forward, in breathless succession, a crowd of images[3], each of which supplies, or might have supplied, Homer with

[1] 236. [2] 270. [3] 286. sqq.

a distinct chapter of descriptive episode: arable land and ploughmen, grown crop, reaping, threshing, vineyards with grapes ripening and ripe, wine-gathering, wine-making; all heaped in promiscuous disorder upon each other, and upon groups of hunters of hare and boar, wrestlers, boxers, and chariot-racers. From the prize tripod of the chariot-race we abruptly return to the river Ocean[1], running, according to the apparent order of the text, round the basin of the tripod, rather than, as in the sequel we are told, and as Homer's authority and common sense required, round the circumference of the whole shield.

The examples of this strange confusion are so frequent, and recur with so similar and so systematic a method, as to imply, not so much carelessness or want of tact, as an actual intention on the author's part to surprise and bewilder, both by the disorder in which his pictures are exhibited, and by their glaring colours and extravagant forms. The impressive features which the few graphic touches of the great master of the Iliad impart to his images of death or terror are here distorted into the ghastly grin or ferocious grimace. The eight pithy lines, for example, descriptive of the battle in the Homeric shield[2], are swelled into three times that number[3] by an accumulation of extravagant horrors, enhanced even to the disgusting in the persons of the Parcæ, most preposterously introduced as military goddesses. Among their comrades is another demon, Achlys or Mist, also peculiar to this poet's martial pantheon, who surpasses even her sister monsters in the number and brutality of her attributes, contributing not only eyes, teeth, claws, and

[1] 314. [2] Il. xviii. 533. [3] 237. sqq.

blood (of Mist), but dust, filth, even defluxion from the nose, to make up the fulness of the odious picture. While the efforts of the copyist to emulate the brilliancy of Homer's scenes of festive joy result but in their distension into vapid insipidity, the elegant hyperboles in which the one describes the wonders of the forge of Vulcan are strained into impossibilities so palpable, as to destroy every illusion of imitative art. Such is the description of the sculptured figure of Perseus on the shield, hovering in the air above it, without touching any part of it[1]; an image obviously absurd, even as a miraculous effect, in a work of relief. The figure of the two Gorgons making, not the earth or pavement, but the actual metal of the shield resound with their vehement tramping[2], is another strange compound of art and reality equally destructive of all poetical illusion.

In the midst of this profusion of matter, the real poverty of the author's imagination is evinced by the nauseous reiteration of the same, or closely similar, turgid phrases or far-fetched ideas[3]; sometimes verbally repeated, sometimes under unimportant variations, often within a few lines of each other. That he was, however, himself diffident of the success of his efforts to enforce the reality of his pictures, may be inferred from the frequent and earnest renewal of

[1] 217. [2] 231. sq.

[3] On three separate occasions a snake or snakes are introduced, with nearly the same appendages, and described in very similar terms. (144. 161. sqq. 233.) Over the head of the first edition of the reptile hovers Discord (148.), under her usual poetical attributes. A *few lines* afterwards, however, Discord is made to occupy an independant position, in a group of verses (156. sqq.) transferred from the Shield of the Iliad (XVIII. 535.) into a position where all the spirit of their connexion with a previous context is sacrificed.

his personal assurance of their astonishing effect and striking resemblance to the originals.[1] The perpetual recurrence of the quaint commonplace in which this assurance is conveyed forms indeed a prominent characteristic of his style; and, like the mottoes appended to figures in the early rude productions of graphic art, tends but to destroy the illusion which it is meant to favour.

Age and origin.

16. The authenticated fact above noticed, of the first fifty-six lines of this poem being an extract from another work ascribed to the same author, affords a reasonable opening for the doubt, whether the present connexion even of the integral parts of the remaining text is coeval with their first composition, or may not also be the result of a similar patchwork. The great disproportion between the episode of the Shield and the main narrative of the combat may seem to render their existing combination the less likely to have suggested itself to the original poet. It might, however, be urged in favour of unity of authorship, that this stringing together of desultory narratives by a slender thread of main action, as exemplified especially in the Catalogue of Women, was itself a proverbial characteristic of the Hesiodic school of poetry. The probability, therefore, becomes the greater, that a single poet of that school, who had brought to maturity such an effusion as that comprised in the hundred and eighty verses of the Shield proper, may have been at pains to construct, out of the martial legends of his native district, a heroic

[1] 140. 165. 218. 224. 318. 189. 194. 198. 206. 209. 211. 215. 228. 244. 290. 314. Equally offensive and destructive of the proposed effect is the endless accumulation of hyperbolical epithets δεινός, δεινὸν ἐερκόμενος, οὔτι φατειός, and the like.

framework in which to exhibit his gaudy picture, very similar to that in which it is now encased.

Although the claims of this poem, or of any part of it, to the honours of a genuine work of Hesiod, of the author, that is, of either the Works or Theogony, were rejected by various antient critics, the balance of opinion seems yet to have leaned to the popular belief[1], in so far at least as regards the Theogony. By modern commentators these claims have been very generally set aside. Here, again, internal evidence certainly favours the Separatist view; for, although the same defects of exaggeration, bombast, and tautology, above pointed out in the Shield, are common to the parallel descriptions of the Theogony, there is a considerable difference in the forms, both of imagery and phraseology, in which they are exhibited. It is also worthy of remark, that the general idiom of this poem, in spite of its pervading leaven of Homeric imitation, differs more widely from the familiar heroic or Homeric dialect, than that of either Works and Days, or perhaps of any other existing specimen of epic minstrelsy.[2]

[1] The poets Stesichorus and Apollonius Rhodius, with the grammarian Megacles, are cited as favourable (Schol. Ald. ap. Gaisf. et Göttl. Præf. ad Scut. Herc.), the grammarian Aristophanes (Schol. ibid.), with other minor authorities (ap. Göttl. Præf. p. xxvii. Marcksch. p. 153.), as unfavourable, to its genuine character. Longinus (ix. 5.) is doubtful. Göttling (ad 217.) supposes the Shield proper to be an interpolation by a later grammarian, and that the older authors above cited merely commented the framework. It were strange, however, in that case, that Aristophanes, one of the earliest Greek grammarians, should have pronounced the poem an imitation of the Homeric Shield; and Göttling elsewhere (ad 223. 245.) himself notices the archaïc Æolo-Bœotic peculiarities of idiom or tradition in the portion of the text which he condemns as spurious. Here, again, conf. Hermann. Op. Misc. vol. vi. p. 198.

[2] In the extensive use, for example, of the verb ἔχω with an auxiliary power, as μάχην, ὦρυν, πόνον, &c., ἔχον, for ἐμάχοντο, ἐπονέοντο, &c.

Considering the many and glaring defects of this work, and the very small amount of poetical merit by which they are counterbalanced, it may seem strange that it should alone have survived the wreck of the remaining mass of Hesiodic poems, many of which may be presumed to have been better specimens of the same school of composition. It can boast, however, at least the charm of a boundless eccentricity. With all its servility of Homeric imitation, it possesses, in its own peculiar vein of exaggeration and extravagance, a kind of wild originality, more likely to obtain a hold on the popular public of every age, than the mediocrity or commonplace of other more correct and elegant compositions of the later school of epic minstrelsy.

Lost poems of Hesiod.

17. The Hesiodic poems now no longer extant, of which notice occurs in antient authors, are:[1]

The Catalogue, or Catalogues of Women; otherwise called the Eöæ, or the Great Eöæ, or the Genealogy of Heroes.
The Melampodia.
The Astronomy.
The Maxims of Chiron.
The Ægimius, also ascribed to Cercops of Miletus.
On the Idæi Dactyli.
Ornithomantia, or Book of Augury.
Address to Batrachus.
Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis.
Marriage of Ceÿx.
Descent of Theseus to Hades.

(vv. 241. 248. 251. 306. 273. 285. 305. 310, 311.); also in the frequent repetition and licentious ambiguity of the demonstrative pronouns οἱ, τοί, &c. (170. 174. 176. 237. sqq. 248. 255. sqq. 272. sqq. 280. sqq.), and throughout the more excited and incoherent parts of the text.

[1] See Marckscheff. p. 87. sqq.

Certain other titles occasionally comprised in the list have here been omitted, either as resting on no sufficient authority, as variations of others above enumerated, or as proper merely to particular parts or episodes of poems, the separate existence of which is better ascertained. On the other hand, several of the above number rejected by modern commentators chiefly on the last-mentioned ground have been retained, in respect of their citation as independant poems not being in any degree qualified by the antients, while no other reasonable motive exists for setting them aside.[1]

THE CATALOGUE OF WOMEN. EOÆ (GENEALOGY OF HEROES).

Catalogue of Women. Eoæ.

It has been a much agitated question among modern scholars, whether the above titles are to be considered as representing the same poem under different names, or different poems.[2] On the whole, the balance of argument is in favour of the former opinion; the few passages of antient commentators where the three titles appear to be cited as distinct being neutralised by others where they no less plainly appear to be used as synonymous.[3] The best mode of reconciling this apparent anomaly is to assume that certain of the three varieties, while common in a general sense

[1] The ἔπη μαντικά and ἐξηγήσεις ἐπὶ τέρασι, mentioned by Pausanias (IX. xxxi. 4.), may safely be merged either in the Astronomia or Ornithomantia. Of some other apparent allusions by classical authors to Hesiodic works not here admitted, Γῆς περίοδος, Θεῖοι λόγοι, Ὕμνοι, Κεραμεῖς, Φοινικικά, Περὶ ταρίχων, see Marckscheffel, p. 197.

[2] See Göttl. in Præf. p. xxvi.; conf. Marcksch. p. 102. sqq.; Ulrici, Gesch. d. Hell. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 362. sqq.; Bode, Gesch. der Ep. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 449.

[3] Hesych. v. Ἠοῖαι; Scut. Herc. verse 1.; conf. Schol. Ald. in Argum. ad Scut. Herc.; auctt. ap. Marcksch. p. 102. sq.

to the whole poem or series of poems, attached more immediately to particular cantos or books, by a law of usage similar to that formerly cited in the case of the Cyclic Thebaïs. The work comprised, according to the only distinct enumeration extant, five books[1] or Catalogues. It happens, however, that four books only are quoted by their separate numbers in the extant citations. It is further remarkable, that, in the only citations where any clear distinction seems to be drawn between the two titles Eoæ and Catalogues, that of Eoæ is accompanied by the special epithet of Great.[2] Such a distinction evidently implies, in the portion of the series so honoured, some superiority to the others, either in respect of bulk or quality. If this peculiarity of usage be taken in connexion with the fact above noticed, that no citation occurs of the fifth book or Catalogue by its own number, the probability naturally suggests itself, that the same fifth book may be the portion especially designated as Great, the greatest of the Eoæ or Catalogues, and hence cited in its individual capacity under that more honourable title alone. Various modern commentators, however, would reject the somewhat doubtful authority on which the existence of a fifth Catalogue rests, and, restricting the number to four, would assume the fourth to be the one honoured by the epithet of Great.[3] The question is a subtle one, and not likely to be brought to any positive issue by the aid of existing data.

[1] Suidas, v. Ἡσίοδος. Different portions of these books also bore separate titles, with special reference to their contents, as Λευκιππίδων Κατάλογος; περὶ τῶν Προιτίδων Κατ.; conf. Marcksch. p. 104. and frgg. 102. 38.

[2] μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι. Pausanias, IX. XXXI. 5.; conf. Marcksch. p. 106. sq.

[3] Göttling, p. XXVI.; Marckscheff. p. 107. 109.

The phrase Eoæ, or Eoiæ, is understood to be derived, by no very elegant course of etymology, from the first two words of a certain formula or commonplace, by which the birth and adventures of each succeeding heroine were connected with those of her predecessors in the series.[1]

The whole poem, or compilation of poems, was the most voluminous, and, next to the Works and Days and Theogony, the most celebrated production ascribed to Hesiod. In general popularity, indeed, it would seem, from the frequency of the appeals to its text by classical authors of all ages, to have fallen little short of either of those standard works of the school. The number of extant verses directly cited from it, under its various denominations, inclusive of the fifty-six prefixed to the Shield, amounts to about a hundred and thirty; while perhaps half that number may be added for passages which, though not specifically so quoted, may on internal evidence be assigned to the Catalogue. This forms a sum total greatly exceeding what can be identified as having belonged to any other lost poem of this period, and furnishing conclusive evidence both of the bulk and the popularity of the Catalogue, and of its authority as a text-book of national tradition. It seems, in fact, to have contained a complete repertory of heroic genealogy, from the days of Prometheus and Deucalion, or rather of Pandora and Pyrrha, downwards[2];

[1] ἢ οἵη .... See Scut. Herc. verse 1., and frg. 26. Gaisf.

[2] See the Summary ap. Marcksch. p. 120.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. ii. p. 478. Müller's description of the Hesiodic or Æolo-Bœotic mythology, as "meagre and scanty compared with that of the Ionian tribes," is abundantly disproved by the contents of this poem, not to mention the Theogony, Melampodia, and others of the same school. It is also curiously inconsistent with his own subsequent notice of Hesiod's efforts "to

especial reference being had to the lives and amours of distinguished females, from whom the more illustrious families or races derived their origin. The leading exploits of the offspring of the heroines were also episodically treated, often at considerable detail. The series appears, from the existing citations, to have commenced with the renewal of the human race after the deluge by the agency of the mystical patriarchs above mentioned, and to have been continued down to the extinction of the race of Ulysses, in the second or third generation after the Trojan war.

As no general epitome of the poem, or specific notice of its contents, has been transmitted, but slender means exist for judging of its plan or structure. To epic unity, according to the Homeric standard, it could have had no pretension. There could have been no principal actor or protagonist; nor can even such a central basis of action be detected, as would have resulted from any special prominence given to the history of some favourite race of heroes. The principal title of the work, Catalogue (or Catalogues), seems in itself to vouch for its desultory character. The extant passages consist in a great measure of genealogical commonplace, and, even where in a more lively vein of narrative or description, exhibit but little trace of any ambition to tread the higher paths of heroic poetry. The style, however, is upon the whole pleasing, the versification harmonious, and the general tone of sentiment and language, without marked features either of peculiarity or merit, is simple and inoffensive; as distinct from the genial

reduce the bewildering and endless variety of stories concerning the gods to a connected system." (Hist. of Gr. Lit. p. 78, 79.)

originality of the Works as from the affectation or extravagance of the Theogony or Shield.

The claims of the Catalogue, or parts of it, to genuine Hesiodic origin seem to have been recognised by Crates[1], Apollonius Rhodius[2], and Aristarchus[3]; nor is any trace of opposition to those claims observable prior to the time of Pausanias.[4]

Modern commentators, in the case of this poem as of all the other productions of the primitive Epic Muse, would ascribe different portions of the text to different authors, chiefly from the circumstance of its containing conflicting versions of the same fable.[5] The argument itself is worth little, although the inference may very probably be correct. Traces of the same dialectic peculiarities which tend to establish the Æolo-Bœotic origin of the three other poems are also observable, though more rarely, in the remains of the Catalogue.[6] Many of the fragments betray a comparatively recent origin; among others, those celebrating the heroes Belus, Arabus, Macedon, and the Satyrs[7], a race of sylvan deities as little familiar to the Hesiod of the Theogony as to Homer.

THE MELAMPODIA.

18. The title of this poem, with a few fragments of its text, supply the only data for judging of its contents. The name Melampodia is derived from that of Melampus, a distinguished Argive seer, pro- Melampodia.

[1] Ap. Schol. ad Theog. 142. [2] Argum. Ald. ad Scut. Herc.
[3] Ap. Eustath. ad Il. xxiv. 28. [4] ix. xxxi.
[5] Thiersch, Ueb. Hesiod. p. 29.; Göttl. Præf. p. xxvi.; Marcksch. p. 107. 123.
[6] Frg. 64.
[7] Marcksch. frgg. 28, 29.; conf. p. 136. sqq.

genitor of a race of similarly gifted descendants. Among these were Amphiaraus, the most celebrated hero of the Theban war, and Theoclymenus, to whom a prominent part is assigned in the action of the Odyssey. It may be presumed, therefore, that the adventures of Melampus and his family formed the basis of the principal subject, which was enlarged, as may be collected from the remnants of the text, by numerous episodes concerning other leading professors of the arts of divination. Of those remnants, one alone relates immediately to the hero; to his adventure, namely, with Iphiclus, recorded in the Odyssey.[1] Two are devoted to the affairs of the Theban seer Tiresias, which appear to have been treated in some detail. Other seven verses, where the Melampodia is not expressly cited, but which from internal evidence may reasonably be referred to the poem, allude to the last adventure and decease of the prophet Calchas at Clarus, in Ionia, on his journey homewards from Troy in company with Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus. The author seems to have followed, concerning this event, a trivial variety of an equally trivial fable concerning the death of Homer. The prophet, like the poet, is described as having fallen a victim to mortification, on being surpassed by a rival Œdipus in successfully divining the number of growing fruits on a plentifully stocked figtree.[2] The subsequent adventures and death of Amphilochus by the hand of Apollo were also narrated.

The whole number of verses referable on certain or plausible grounds to the Melampodia amount to twenty-four. They convey no very favourable im-

[1] xv. 225. sqq., xi. 291. sqq.

[2] Conf. vit. Hom. Plut. i. 4.

pression either of the materials or the style of the work. The incidents are for the most part trivial, or treated in a trivial tone; and the versification is little distinguished either for spirit, or harmony. The poem was divided into books, of which three are mentioned. The ancients quote Hesiod unreservedly as the author.[1]

THE ASTRONOMY.

Astronomy.

This poem[2], also cited under the title of Astrology, appears from the frequency and copiousness of the appeals to its authority, to have been a highly popular text-book of the science to which it was devoted, and to have treated its subject in considerable detail. It is usually quoted as the acknowledged production of Hesiod[3]; sometimes, more doubtfully, as his imputed work.[4]

The preserved quotations or extracts describe the genealogy and influences of the Sun, Atlas, the Pleiads and Hyads, Arcturus, Orion, and others of the celestial heroes or heroines who supply the favourite subjects of commentary with the primitive poetical astrologers. The history of Phaëton and his fall was treated at considerable length, much as in the later popular repertories. The promotion of Eridanus to the honour of a celestial constellation, on account of his share in Phaëton's disaster, was also described, as was the like distinction conferred on the golden-fleeced ram of Phryxus. It is probable, as

[1] See Marcksch. fragm. p. 359. sqq.
[2] Marcksch. p. 194. sqq. 352. sqq.
[3] Plin. Hist. N. xviii xxv.; Plut. de Pyth. Or. defect. xviii.
[4] Athen. xi. 491.

formerly remarked, that certain citations of Hesiod relating to field husbandry, which some would refer to another more bulky or more genuine Works and Days, belonged to this poem. The sciences of astronomy and agriculture, as evinced by the contents of the existing Works, were in primitive times so closely connected, that the one could hardly be treated in a popular manner without the other.

THE MAXIMS OF CHIRON.

Maxims of Chiron.

This work was a summary of the instructions delivered by the philosophic Centaur to his pupil Achilles. It was known to Pindar, and passages of its text were paraphrased by that poet.[1] Its genuine Hesiodic origin seems to have been recognised by the earlier quoters and commentators. Appeal is made to its authority in favour of a popular doctrine of the primitive ages of literature, that children should not be taught letters until after seven years of age.[2] The justice of this doctrine was admitted by other high authorities, inclusive of Eratosthenes. The grammarian Aristophanes[3] first called in question the claim of the Maxims to emanate from the original Hesiod, but the work continues to be quoted under its popular title in the subsequent appeals to its text.[4] The three opening verses are preserved, inculcating, as the fundamental basis of all moral excellence, piety to the gods, and afford, on the whole, a favourable sample of the general style.

[1] Pyth. VI. 19., Boeckh. et Schol. ad loc.; conf. Boeckh. frag. Pind. 64. p. 647.

[2] Quintil. I. i. 15. Plato extends the minimum age to ten years. De Legg. p. 809 E.

[3] Apud Quint. loc. cit.

[4] Marcksch. fragm. p. 370.

19. THE ÆGIMIUS

was ascribed[1] by some to Hesiod, by others to Cercops of Miletus. The poem appears to have presented a more or less continuous epic narrative of some bulk, being described as divided into two books. Ægimius, from whom it derives its title, was a patriarchal chief of the Dorian tribes who afterwards conquered Peloponnesus. The most celebrated adventure of this hero was a war against the Thessalian Lapithæ[2], in which he prevailed chiefly through the alliance of Hercules. Hard pressed by his warlike neighbours, he engaged the services of the Theban hero by a promise to bestow on him one third of the Dorian territory, should their united arms be crowned with success. The Lapithæ were defeated, but Hercules generously refused to accept the stipulated reward, in lieu of which it was agreed that Ægimius should undertake the duties of guardian to his benefactor's children. Hence the subsequent alliance of the Heraclid and Dorian races, and virtual identity of the two on the final success of their assault on the empire of the Pelopidæ. This transaction offered certainly a noble subject for an epic poem, both by its own simplicity and martial dignity, and by reference to the mighty consequences with which the alliance it records was pregnant to the destinies of Hellas. Ægimius.

It appears, however, doubtful, whether the value of this kernel of poetical history was rightly appreciated by the author of the poem. Modern commentators have supposed, with apparent reason, that the narra-

[1] Marcksch. p. 158. sqq.; conf. 347. sqq.

[2] Apollod. II. vii. 7., viii. 3.; Diod. Sic. IV. xxxvii.; conf. Müll. Dor. vol. I. p. 28.; Welck. Ep. C. p. 263. sqq.; Marcksch. sup. cit.

tive comprised also a large portion of the other subsequent adventures of the hero and his friend Hercules, or even of their immediate descendants, inclusive of the earlier abortive invasions of Peloponnesus by the Dorians.[1] Upon the opinion which may be formed as to such greater or less extension of the subject must mainly depend how far the work is to be considered as an epic poem in the Aristotelian sense, how far as a mere metrical chronicle of events on the more methodical but less poetical Hesiodic plan. This question connects itself with a peculiarity already pointed out in the extant notices of the work, where it is described as the only poem claiming a Hesiodic origin with which any other name is associated besides that of Hesiod. A not improbable explanation of this peculiarity might suggest itself in the supposition, that, while the general tone and dialect of the poem were Hesiodic, a superior degree of epic integrity observable in its action may have seemed incompatible with any positive title to rank among the compositions of the Æolo-Bœotic school.

The existing fragments of the poem throw but little light either on the subject or mode of treatment. The passages expressly cited from the Ægimius appear all to have belonged to the episodical element of the work. No allusion, at least, there occurs either to Ægimius himself or to the Dorians. Two of the

[1] It has even been conjectured by some commentators (ap. Marcksch. p. 167.) that the poem may have comprised the conquests and settlements of the Dorians in Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece. This hypothesis, apart from other reasons, is completely set aside by the absence of all appeal, by Pausanias and other popular historians of those events, to a work which would otherwise have formed their earliest and weightiest authority.

fragments enter at some length into the history of Io and her wanderings. One is devoted to the adventure of Phryxus and his Golden Fleece. A fourth, from the second book, narrated the proceedings of Thetis in regard to her children by Peleus, whom at their birth she committed, some to the fire, others to the water, as a test of their immortal nature. From the result of this experiment Achilles alone was preserved, through the interposition of his father, after the destruction of sundry brothers and sisters. This interference on the part of Peleus caused the quarrel and separation between him and his divine consort. Among the Hesiodic fragments not distinctly cited from the Ægimius, but assigned by modern commentators to that poem on conjectural grounds, there is one containing allusion to Dorian history; but even here no special reference is made to Ægimius himself or his adventures. Further speculation, therefore, as to the precise subject or character of the poem, can little avail until some new light be shed on its contents. The ten remaining verses are in good and apparently genuine archaïc style.

Cercops of Miletus, the other accredited author of the Ægimius, is described by the antients as a contemporary and rival of the Bœotian bard.[1] Several modern commentators, on the other hand, would identify him, and perhaps on plausible grounds, with the later Orphic or Pythagorean poet Cercops, of the time of the Pisistratidæ; if not as original author, as editor at least or enlarger of the antient poem.[2]

[1] Diog. Laert, II. 46.; conf. Athen. XI. p. 503.; Marckscheff. p. 163. sqq.

[2] Ap. Bernhardy, Grundr. der Gr. Lit. pt. ii. p. 171.; conf. Marcksch. p. 158.

20. THE NUPTIALS OF CEÏX.

The Nuptials of Ceÿx.

The event here celebrated was, there can be little doubt, the marriage of Ceÿx and Alcyone[1]; an alliance which had the singular fatality of being attended by so large an amount of matrimonial happiness, as to cause the ruin of the affectionate couple. So greatly were they elated by their prosperous lot, as to boast that it equalled or surpassed even that of Jupiter and Juno, and were presumptuous enough to call each other accordingly by the names of the divine king and queen. Their impiety was punished by the conversion of both into sea-birds. This adventure, usually narrated of an older Ceÿx son of Hesperus, and Alcyone daughter of Æolus, seems to have been transferred by Hesiod to the father-in-law of Cycnus, celebrated in the Shield of Hercules. Some commentators[2], however, would further assume a difference in the subject as well as the hero and heroine of the poem. But the Marriage of Ceÿx, recorded in the above elegant though fantastic fable, is the only one which enjoys any celebrity in the popular mythology; and one of the extant citations[3] of the poem seems to allude plainly, though figuratively, to the amorous self-destruction of the ill-fated pair.

The work was considered spurious by Plutarch[4], but its genuine antiquity was defended by Athenæus[5] and other authorities.

Of the other titles on the Hesiodic list, two, the

[1] Apollod. I. vii. 4.; conf. Ovid Met. XI.

[2] Ap. Marcksch. p. 155. [3] Frg. 168. [4] Sympos. VIII. 8.

[5] II. p. 49.; conf. Marcksch. loc. cit., who very properly rejects the opinion of its having formed part of the Catalogues.

Elegy on the death of Batrachus and the Treatise on the Idæi Dactyli, occur, but in the somewhat apocryphal summary of Suidas. Batrachus, the hero of the former production, is characterised by the same compiler as a "lover of Hesiod." The latter work may perhaps be alluded to by Pliny[1], where he quotes Hesiod concerning the discovery of iron in Crete, by the mysterious personages celebrated in the poem.

Ornithomantia. Descent of Theseus to Hades. Epithalamium of Thetis.

The three remaining works, the Ornithomantia[2] or Book of Auguries, the Descent of Theseus to Hades[3], and the Epithalamium of Peleus[4] and Thetis, have each been held by various modern commentators[5], on more or less plausible grounds, to be but portions, episodes or cantos, of the Catalogue, or of other longer and more celebrated Hesiodic poems. They are, however, all mentioned with sufficient distinctness in their separate capacity, to admit of their being classed, conjecturally at least, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary, as desultory independant poems similar to the Shield. Of their contents little is known but what their titles imply. The Ornithomantia and Descent of Theseus passed current as Hesiodic works at a comparatively early period.[6] The Epithalamium, on the other hand, is first mentioned by the later Byzantine grammarians, one of whom cites two verses of it in good epic style, and in the usual congratulatory tone of such compositions.[7]

From whatever number or variety of authors the

[1] Ap. Marcksch. p. 171. [2] Marcksch. p. 172. [3] Op. cit. p. 158.
[4] Op. cit. p. 157. [5] Göttl. Præf. p. xxvii. sq.
[6] The claims of both were rejected by Pausanias, IX. xxxi. 4.; those of the Ornithomantia by Apollonius Rhod. ap. Proc. ad Opp. et D. 824. By some the latter poem was held to have been composed as a supplement to the works. Procl. loc. cit.
[7] Frg. LVII. Gaisf.

miscellaneous poems in the foregoing list may have proceeded, it seems probable that the whole, or the greater part of them, were composed in the same district of Central Greece, comprising Bœotia, Phocis, and the Ozolian Locris. The legend of the poet's last sojourn and death at Naupactus, and sepulchre at Œneon, both of which towns are situated in the Ozolian territory, represents, there can be little doubt, a secondary Locrian school of Hesiodic poetry. This school seems to have been afterwards transferred by the colonists from the same region to the Italian or Epizephyrian Locris, and thence, as will be seen in the sequel, to Sicily, under the figure of a blood relationship between Hesiod and the celebrated Sicilian poet Stesichorus.

CHAP. XXII.

MISCELLANEOUS EPIC POETRY OF THIS PERIOD.

1. CATALOGUE OF AUTHORS AND WORKS COMPRISED UNDER THIS HEAD. — 2. CINÆTHON OF LACEDÆMON (GENEALOGIES). EUMELUS OF CORINTH (CORINTHIACA, BUGONIA, DELIAN PROSODIUM, CHEST OF CYPSELUS). — 3. ANTIMACHUS OF TEOS. ASIUS OF SAMOS (GENEALOGIES). CARCINUS OF NAUPACTUS; NEOPTOLEMUS OF MILETUS (NAUPACTICA). PRODICUS OF PHOCÆA (MINYAS). — 4. PISANDER OF CAMIRUS (HERACLEA). — 5. EPIMENIDES OF CRETE. HIS LEGENDARY BIOGRAPHY. — 6. HIS INFLUENCE ON HIS AGE. HIS WORKS. — 7. ARISTEAS OF PROCONNESUS (ARIMASPEA). LEGEND OF HIS LIFE. — 8. ITS INTERPRETATION. ABARIS THE HYPERBOREAN. — 9. HEGESINOÜS (ATTHIS). CHERSIAS OF ORCHOMENUS (GENEALOGIES). PHORONIS. DANAÏS. THESEÏS. — 10. ALCMÆONIS.

Catalogue of authors and works comprised under this head.

1. THE third and last subdivision of the primitive epic literature comprises all those poems which were not sufficiently characterised by the proper dialect and manner of either Homer or Hesiod to admit of their being ranked, even in vulgar usage, as the productions of one or other of those authors. Some of these works appear to have aimed at a certain amount of Homeric unity of structure; others were but metrical chronicles, embodied in the same spirit of methodical continuity as the Hesiodic compilations examined in the previous chapter. Their authors appear, for the most part, both in the selection of their mythical subjects and in general style and phraseology, to have conformed to the old conventional standards of epic mannerism. Towards the close of this period, however, efforts are observable on the part of Pisander, Epimenides, and other poetically gifted disciples of the popular schools of religious mysticism, who availed themselves of the Epic Muse

in promulgating their doctrines, to enliven the prevailing monotony, partly by the introduction of new materials, partly by bolder methods of working up those transmitted by their predecessors. Few of these works enjoyed any great celebrity or popularity with the later Hellenic public. Several had perished even during the flourishing ages of Greek literature, or were no longer familiar in the original text to the authors by whom they are cited; and, with the exception of a limited stock of fragments, the whole are now entirely lost. They supply, consequently, but slender materials for critical analysis. The lives and characters, however, of several of their authors are replete with curiosity and interest.

In the subjoined list the poems have been arranged according to the age, historical or conjectural, of their authors, in so far as the names of the latter have been recorded. Where titles of works have been transmitted unconnected with the name of any author, they have been ranked in the chronological order of the subjects. The list also contains one or two names of poets which have been recorded unconnected with any particular work. Several of the authors, in the earlier portion of the series, have already been under consideration as contributors to the Epic Cycle, and have been classed, to that extent, as disciples of the Homeric school.

1. Cinæthon of Lacedæmon .	Genealogies (Œdipodia, Heraclea, Little Iliad, Telegonia[1]).
2. Eumelus of Corinth . .	Corinthiaca, Bugonia, Delian Prosodium, Chest of Cypselus (Europia, Nosti[2]).
3. Antimachus of Teos.	

[1] See the Epic Cycle, Ch. xix. supra.

[2] See Ch. xix. as above.

4.	Asius of Samos	Genealogies (Elegiac Epigram).
5.	Carcinus of Naupactus, Neoptolemus of Miletus	Naupactica.
6.	Prodicus of Phocæa	Minyas.
7.	Pisander of Camirus	Heraclea.
8.	Epimenides	Theogonia, Argonautica, &c.
9.	Aristeas of Proconnesus	Arimaspea.
10.	Abaris the Hyperborean	Nuptials of Hebrus, &c.
11.	Hegesinoüs	Atthis.
12.	Chersias of Orchomenus	Genealogies (Epitaph on Hesiod).
13.		Phoronis.
14.		Danaïs.
15.		Theseïs.
16.		Alcmæonis.

2. Cinæthon of Lacedæmon (765 B. C.) has already been noticed in connexion with the Epic Cycle[1], as claiming, on more or less valid grounds, no fewer than four of its members: the Œdipodia, Œchalia or Heraclea, Little Iliad, and Telegonia. His genealogical poems are classed by Pausanias[2] in the same category as the Eoæ of Hesiod. The extant citations[3] possess little poetical or historical interest. They relate chiefly to the line of succession in the royal families of Lacedæmon and Crete.[4] Special allusion also occurs to the descendants of Medea and Jason.

EUMELUS

(Corinthiaca, Bugonia, Delian Prosodium).

To Eumelus of Corinth (761—744 B. C.), his age, and character, attention has also been directed, as accredited author of several Cyclic poems. The other works ascribed to him are, the Corinthiaca, Bugonia,

[1] Ch. xix. § 6. sqq.

[2] iv. ii. 1.

[3] Ap. Marcksch. frag. p. 407., Düntz. p. 59.

[4] Rhadamanthus was made a son, not of Jupiter, as in his Homeric pedigree (Il. xiv. 322.), but of a local Cretan chief, Hephæstus, and great-grandson of Cres, eponyme hero of the island. (Pausan. viii. liii. 2.)

Delian Prosodium, and the verses on the Chest of Cypselus.

Corinthiaca.

The Corinthiaca, a genealogical poem of some celebrity, described the origin and early destinies of the city from which it derived its name. The following, by reference to the principal fragments or citations of its text[1], appears to have been the main line of narrative, with which various other genealogical notices of a miscellaneous character[2], incidentally quoted from Eumelus by classical authors, were also, it may be presumed, interwoven.

In the distribution of honours and possessions by the god Helius among his sons, the land of Asopia in Northern Peloponnesus fell to the lot of Aloeus; the city of Ephyra on the Isthmus, with its territory, was bequeathed to Æetes. The latter hero, preferring a settlement at Colchis on the Euxine Sea, made over the sovereignty of his Isthmian territory to a friend called Bunus, a son of Mercury, on condition of the heritage being restored to himself or his descendants, should they ever appear to claim it. On the death of Bunus, Epopeus, son of Aloeus, succeeds to the throne of Ephyra, and thus reunites the divided dominions under his own sovereignty. Marathon, a son of this king, driven from home by the harsh treatment of his father, settles in Attica, where he founds a city, and calls it by his name.[3] On the death of Epopeus he revisits Ephyra, and, taking possession of his Peloponnesian inheritance, divides it anew between his two sons Sicyon and Corinthus, allotting Asopia to the former, Ephyra to the latter. He then returns to Attica. Asopia henceforward is called by the name of its new sovereign Sicyon. The name Ephyra, originally derived from a daughter of Ocean and Tethys, former proprietrix of the

[1] Frgg. ap. Marcksch. p. 397. sqq. [2] Frgg. 7. 13, 14. sqq.

[3] Here, as in other parts of the system of Eumelus (the nativity of Leda, for example, in the sequel), may be observed the natural tendency of the local genealogist to give importance and extent to the mythology of his native district. The Athenian antiquaries know nothing of this Corinthian foundation of Marathon (Paus. I. xxxii.), but assert, on the other hand, that Sicyon was founded by a son of their local hero Erechtheus (Paus. II. vi. 3.).

district, is exchanged, in like manner, for that of the new ruler Corinthus. In the sequel, Jason and the Argonauts invade the Asiatic dominions of Æetes; whose daughter Medea, after assisting Jason by her own enchantments to baffle those of her father, elopes with the Thessalian hero. On reaching her lover's paternal territory of Iolcos, she is invited to Corinth, and invested with the sovereignty of that state, in terms of the compact under which the heritage had been alienated by Æetes; the intermediate line of princes having also become extinct by the death of Corinthus. Medea and Jason assume accordingly the reins of government. In order to render her children immortal, Medea, overrating her magic powers, buries them alive in the temple of Juno, where they perish. Jason, indignant at her treatment of his offspring, separates himself from her, and retires to Iolcos. Medea, distressed and mortified, also soon after abandons Corinth[1], making over the sovereignty to Sisyphus, whose death and funeral rites are described. Glaucus, son of Sisyphus, when on a visit to Lacedæmon in search of some missing horses of his stock, engages in an amour with Pantidyia, a Spartan princess. The offspring of this connexion was Leda, mother of the Tyndaridæ; who, however, on the subsequent marriage of her own mother to Thespius, passed as the daughter of that hero.

This poem appears, from the frequent citations of its text by the ancients, to have been a work of standard authority in its own department of mythical history. It is also the one among the primitive lost poems of the same genealogical order, the extant notices of which seem to shed the greatest light on the sort of imperfect epic mechanism on which such compilations were made to hinge. The Corinthiaca appears, however, owing, perhaps, to the author's Homeric predilections, to have had greater pretensions to unity of plan than most others of its class, such,

[1] This version of the story differs widely from that of Euripides, where Medea is received at Corinth as a guest by a king called Creon, supplanted by the daughter of the same Creon in the affections of Jason, and contumeliously discarded by that ungrateful chief.

for example, as the Eoæ of Hesiod. Of the remaining verses, eight[1], describing the origin of the city of Corinth, form a continuous text, marked by much archaïc simplicity and purity of style. Five others[2], now read in the Argonautica of Apollonius, are stated by the antient commentators of that poem to have been pirated by its author from Eumelus. That the original poem of Eumelus was no longer extant in the time of Pausanias, or at least no longer accessible to him, appears from his limitation of the genuine remains of the Corinthian poet to the Delian Prosodium. The only other work cited[3] by the same critic, as attributed in his day to this author, was a prose composition which passed current under the same title of Corinthiaca. The passages, therefore, of the metrical Corinthiaca, cited by writers of later date than Pausanias, and the genuine character of which there seems no ground to dispute, must, if weight be attached to his authority, be understood to be borrowed from older secondary sources.[4] That the substance, however, of the prose work was, in a great measure, the same as that of the poem, appears from the close correspondence between the account given by Pausanias of the early history of Corinth on the authority of the former, and the notices on the same subject supplied by the longest extant passage of the latter.[5]

[1] Frg. II. [2] Frg. VIII.

[3] IV. iv. 1.; conf. Clem. Alex. Str. VI. p. 629.; frg. VI.

[4] Such appears to be the balance of the various data on the subject, which is one of some obscurity, and has afforded a fertile field for discussion to speculative critics. The authorities, antient and modern, have been collected and compared by Groddeck, Ueb. die Argonaut. Biblioth. der Alt. Liter. Gött. 1797, p. 94., and by Marckscheffel, De Eumelo, p. 216. sqq.

[5] Compare frgg. II. and III. Marcksch.

Bugonia.

The Bugonia is ascribed to Eumelus but in a single passage of Eusebius.[1] No remains of the text have been preserved, nor any distinct notice of the subject of the poem. The title has been supposed, with some plausibility, to allude to the adventures of a son of Apollo and Cyrene[2], named Aristæus, a hero distinguished as a promoter of agriculture, and whose stock of bees, on which he set great value, was destroyed by the gods, in punishment of his attempt to violate Eurydice, wife of Orpheus. By advice of his mother, he procured from the sea-god Proteus, through the same stratagem employed by Ulysses in the Odyssey, the knowledge of an expedient for reinstating himself in his former opulence. This was effected by a sacrifice of oxen, from whose carcasses swarms of bees were generated, as numerous as those which he had lost. The story possesses little poetical interest, and is perhaps less likely to have suggested itself for treatment to Eumelus than to Virgil, by whom it has been worked up into a long episode of the fourth Georgic.[3]

[1] Chron. ad an. MCCL.; conf. Scalig. Animad. p. 71.

[2] It has been assumed by various commentators (Müll. Orchom. 2d ed. p. 340. sqq., Marckscheff. Fragm. Hes. p. 136., Boeckh. Explic. ad Pind. p. 324.), with reference both to the fable of Aristæus and to other similar legends in which Cyrene is introduced, that the mention of that nymph must necessarily imply the work in which such mention occurs to date from a lower period than the foundation of the Spartan colony of Cyrene in Africa. This, however, seems, in the present case at least, to be a reversal of the just order of historical inference. It was, probably, the antient and great celebrity of a nymph Cyrene, in connexion with the worship of the Dorian Apollo, which caused the Sparto-Libyan colony to be called by her name. It can hardly be supposed that the name of an African city would have been selected, a few years after its foundation, as that of a goddess of Northern Thessaly, and a daughter of the river Peneus; in which capacity Cyrene appears as mother of Aristæus.

[3] Verse 316. sqq.; conf. Marcksch. p. 239. sqq.

Delian Prosodium.

The Prosodium, or Processional Hymn, composed for the sacred mission of the Messenians to the Delian god, and considered by Pausanias[1] the only genuine extant work of Eumelus, while ranking under the same general head as the hymns in the Homeric collection, is distinguished from them by some broad and interesting features of peculiarity. The Homeric hymns are characterised by much of that abstract generality of subject and tone which forms the common attribute of the old epic minstrelsy. They neither possess nor advance any claim to local or "subjective" interest, beyond what may attach to the connexion of the deity celebrated with some one or other of the great national sanctuaries in the festivities of which they were habitually performed. The spirit and object of the Delian hymn, on the other hand, were essentially local and political. The work was composed for the Messenians, to propitiate the favour of a mighty deity, during a dispute between themselves and the powerful neighbouring state of Sparta, relative to a matter connected with the worship of the god to whom the hymn was addressed. The importance of this crisis in their national annals was afterwards abundantly proved, by the series of calamities, and ultimate ruin and national degradation, in which it involved them. The two opening lines, accordingly, which alone have been preserved[2], bear pointedly on the peculiar occasion and object of the composition of the poem. They are a joint invocation of the patron Jupiter and the patron Muses of Ithome, the metropolis and stronghold of the Messenian commonwealth, as guardians of the

[1] IV. iv. 1. [2] Ap. Paus. IV. xxxiii. 3.

cause of national liberty and privilege for which its citizens were contending. Hence, too, the preference of the native Doric to the epic dialect, a preference of which these two lines offer the first example in Greek literature, and which, as will be further seen in the sequel, forms one of the chief characteristics of the individuality and personality of the Lyric, as compared with the abstraction and ideality of the Epic Muse. Of the specific character or contents of the composition, no distinct notices have been transmitted.

Chest of Cypselus.

The same Doric idioms which distinguish this poem are also partially observable in the verses inscribed on the chest of Cypselus, the celebrated Corinthian offering at Olympia. Pausanias accordingly conjectures those inscriptions, from a comparison of their style with that of the Prosodium, to be the composition of Eumelus.[1] The thirteen lines, however, transcribed by the historian[2], can hardly be said to exhibit any such resemblance to the remaining specimens of the art, either of Eumelus or any other professional poet of his age, as to bear out this opinion. The extreme simplicity and quaint mannerism both of their expression and versification, while bespeaking an antiquity at least equal to the age of Eumelus, savour rather of the genius of some humbler minstrel, perhaps of the artist of the reliefs which the lines illustrate.[3]

[1] v. xix. 2. [2] v. xviii. sq.

[3] Pausanias has been very generally taxed by modern critics with inconsistency, in attributing to a poet whose latest recorded epoch is the ninth Olympiad the verses inscribed on a monument dedicated by a prince who flourished in the thirtieth. The charge is groundless. The tradition followed by Pausanias, as to the circumstances which led to the dedication of this monument, distinctly bears that the work itself was in the possession of the family of Cypselus before Cypselus himself

Antimachus of Teos.

3. Antimachus of Teos, an epic poet of great antiquity but little celebrity, is cited by Plutarch as having mentioned, contemporaneously it must be understood, the eclipse which happened on the twentieth of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, B.C. 753, the date assigned to the foundation of Rome. The title of no work by this poet has been preserved, and but a single verse is quoted in condemnation of bribery.[1]

Asius of Samos.

Asius of Samos, son of Amphiptolemus, ranks among the more antient epic poets of the genealogical order[2], but no specific date is connected with his name; nor are his works mentioned under any other titles than the general one of Genealogies. He seems, however, to have treated a variety of subjects, as episodes, it may be presumed, illustrative of local and family history. The longest extant passage expatiates on the brilliant appearance of the Samian ladies advancing in procession to the temple of Juno, and is distinguished by a festive pomp of diction, in good keeping with the subject. He describes "the flowing trains of their snow-white robes; their arms and wrists glittering with massive jewels; and their hair, partly bound up and adorned with the Ionian cricket-formed diadem, partly floating in gold-bound tresses over their shoulders." Among the eighteen remaining verses ascribed to this poet are four in elegiac

was born. The historian also gives in detail his own reasons, based on the decorative workmanship, for supposing the chest to have been at least as antient as the time of Eumelus.

[1] Clint. Fast. Hel. vol. I. p. 157.

[2] Some of his versions of family history are rather peculiar. The mother of Europa is made a daughter of Œneus; Alcmena, a daughter of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. Fragm. ap. Düntz. p. 66.; Marckscheff. p. 411.

measure, alluding to the Smyrnæan nativity of Homer, to which further reference will be made in treating of the lyric art of this period.

Naupactica.

The Naupactica, like the Eoæ of Hesiod, was a genealogical history of remarkable females and their families. It ranked among the more antient works of its class, being quoted by historians prior to Herodotus[1]; but no definite epoch is assigned to its reputed authors. The poet whose claims seem to have been preferred was CARCINUS of Naupactus, capital of the Ozolian Locris: some, however, ascribe it to a Milesian, whose name is not recorded[2]; others to one Neoptolemus[3], who may perhaps be himself the Milesian. The little celebrity of the town of Naupactus in heroic legend is a good argument, as Pausanias has remarked, in favour of the claim of Carcinus, after whose native place, in the absence of any prominent or central head of subject, the work might naturally be called. With the exception, however, of a single passage concerning the mother of Ajax Oïleus[4], there is no trace, in the extant remains or citations, of any special preference of Locrian heroes or adventures. The Argonautic expedition, as in so many other works of this kind, appears to have occupied a large share of attention. The stratagem by which Venus secured the escape of Medea and Jason was particularly described[5], with their subsequent settlement, not at Corinth or Iolcos, as in the ordinary accounts, but

[1] Ap. Paus. IV. 2. 1.
[2] Paus. X. XXXVIII. 6.
[3] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II. 299.
[4] Marcksch. frg. I.
[5] It affords no high idea of the dignity with which the subject was treated. Frg. VII.

δὴ τότ' ἄρ' Αἰήτῃ πόθον ἔμβαλε δι' Ἀφροδίτη
Εὐρυλύτης φιλότητι μιγήμεναι ἥς ἀλόχοιο· κ.τ.λ.

at Corcyra. Nine verses in good epic style are preserved.

The Minyad. Prodicus of Phocæa.

The Minyad, a poem of some celebrity, and with apparently reasonable pretensions to high antiquity, is ascribed by Pausanias[1], though doubtfully, to Prodicus of Phocæa, an author of uncertain age.

Although frequent appeals are made by the antients to the text of this poem, its subject is involved in great obscurity.[2] The name implies that it treated the history either of the Bœotian Orchomenus, or of the Argonautic expedition. The city and people of Orchomenus bore the surname of Minyan, after their founder and ancestor Minyas; and the heroes who took part in the enterprise of Jason also obtained the title from the connexion of their leaders with the line of the same Bœotian patriarch. The adventure, however, which, from its strictly Minyan character, might seem most likely to have formed the action of a poem entitled Minyad, was the war between the Orchomenians and the Thebans, in which the former were at first victorious, and Thebes became tributary to the Minyan king. From this degradation she was released by her native hero Hercules, who assaulted, took, and sacked Orchomenus, and slew the reigning sovereign, Erginus. It happens, however, that, of the six or seven extant passages or citations, not a single one alludes, even remotely, to any such adventure. With the exception of one in which Meleager[3] is mentioned, the whole bear reference to the Infernal region, and its objects of wonder or terror.[4] Pausanias, accordingly, describes a Descent to Hades as forming a part of the action, but not

[1] iv. xxxiii. 7.
[2] See Welck. Ep. C. p. 255. note.
[3] Paus. x. xxxi. 2.
[4] Paus. iv. xxxiii. 7., ix. v. 4., x. xxviii.

the principal subject of the poem. The heroes of this "Descent" appear, from a citation by the same author, to have been Theseus and Pirithoüs. Special allusion occurred to the punishments inflicted on Amphion and Thamyris: on the former, on account of his boastful impiety towards Latona, an impiety already chastised on earth by the destruction of his twelve children; on the latter, for a similar offence against the Muses. Two verses alone have been preserved, alluding to the voyage of Theseus and Pirithoüs in the boat of Charon.[1]

PISANDER (HERACLEA).

Pisander (Heraclea).

4. Pisander of Camirus, a distinguished Dorian colony of the Isle of Rhodes, is the most celebrated epic poet of this period next to Homer and Hesiod, and ranks accordingly next to them in the epic canon of Alexandria.[2] His credit and popularity as a votary of the Heroic Muse obtained him also the honour, with some of his more enthusiastic admirers, of an antiquity equal to that of those poets, or even of Eumolpus[3], who however flourished, according to the same system of mythical chronology, before Pisander's leading hero, Hercules, was born. With more critical authorities, the highest epoch of Pisander reaches but

[1] Paus. x. xxxviii. 1. The name Prodicus, assigned by Pausanias to the poet of the Minyas, is also given by Clemens Alex. to the author of a separate poem, under the title of "Descent to Hell." Clemens, it is true, makes his Prodicus a Samian, while the Prodicus of Pausanias is a Phocæan. But the coincidence certainly favours O. Müller's view, that the two poems and authors are the same, and that both works are identical with a similar Descent, ascribed by some to a Prodicus of the Samian colony of Perinthus, by others to Orpheus or Cercops. Müll. Orchom. p. 12. 2d ed.; conf. Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 360.

[2] Procl. Chrestom. Gaisf. p. 377.; Quintil. x. i. 56.

[3] Suid. v. Πείσανδρος.

the earlier part of the seventh century B.C.[1] Less creditable to him than the report which classed him as coeval with Homer, and not probably better founded, is that in which he is accused of having pirated the substance of his great poem, the Heraclea, from one Pisinus of Lindus[2], of whom or his labours no further notice is extant. The other works ascribed to Pisander were but little esteemed, and are attributed preferably, by the only author who mentions them, to Aristeas, a contemporary poet of some celebrity. That the traditional name of Pisander's father was Pison, that of his mother Aristæchma[3], may illustrate, but certainly does not tend to corroborate, his supposed literary relations to a Pis-inus and an Arist-eas.

The popularity of the Heraclea, the work on which alone his fame was grounded, seems to have been due less to any higher excellence of its composition, than to a certain novelty of invention and peculiarity of style and treatment, imparting a fresh and pungent interest to its text. Pisander flourished at an epoch of transition from the minstrelsy of genius to the minstrelsy of art, when the old epic school was sunk in decay, and some new stimulus was required to excite or relieve its languid mannerism. The tact, accordingly, with which he adapted his muse to the altered spirit of the age, engrafting on the old routine of conventional commonplace a new order of sentiments or images, constituted, apparently, his chief hold on the sympathies of his public. It may also be presumed that these novel features participated in some degree of the peculiar spirit of mysticism with

[1] Clint. F. H. ad an. 647. 631.

[2] Clem. Alex. Strom. VI. p. 628 B.

[3] Suid. loc. cit.

which, not only the popular religion, but the infant science and philosophy of the age were impregnated, and which it became the fashion to promulgate as emanations from the inspired genius of Orpheus and other sages of the olden time. One of the chapters of mythology most favourable to such treatment was the history of Pisander's hero and his twelve labours, so fertile a theme in every age for the speculations of the symbolic school of interpreters. Yet the existing remains of the Heraclea supply comparatively little evidence of the hero's adventures having been there embodied in a mystical form. The boldness and eccentricity of the author's genius seem to have been more extensively displayed in the properly heroic element of his subject, whether in the creation of new materials for his muse, or in moulding those transmitted by his predecessors into new and dazzling forms. His conceptions savour, indeed, more of the extravagant than of the sublime; but even this defect would be a better passport to general popularity or notoriety than the dry formality of the superannuated Homeric school. The subject he had selected was in itself singularly fitted both to awaken the powers of a Dorian poet and work on the sympathies of a Dorian audience, at the period when the Heraclid dynasty of Sparta was acquiring a marked ascendant throughout the confederacy, not only in political power, but in the more elegant arts of peace, especially in music and lyric song, just then rapidly advancing to perfection. Pisander himself was connected with the hero of his work by a double tie. Rhodes, his native island, was a distinguished Sparto-Dorian colony, founded on the basis of an earlier fabulous settlement formed by a son

of Hercules himself. The subject seems also to have had in so far the advantage of novelty, that the poetical biography of the Theban hero had never yet been treated in a similarly wide and comprehensive form.

Heraclea, its plan and contents.

Existing data afford but little insight into the plan of the poem; but, consistently with the character and limits of its subject as above described, it could have had little pretension to Homeric unity. Aristotle, accordingly, in the contrast drawn between Homer and those poets who narrated the lives or adventures of their heroes in continuous order, after the fashion of prose biographers, specially mentions the "authors of Heracleïds." This text obviously admits a prior application to Pisander's poem, as the most celebrated work devoted to the affairs of Hercules. The merit of its composition must consequently be sought in those other more novel and striking features of detail, some of which have been pointedly noticed by the commentators. With Homer and Hesiod, Hercules, in all but his superiority to the rest of mankind, is an ordinary hero, armed in the usual manner, his favourite weapon being the bow. With Pisander his valour is that of the giant or savage, rather than of the Hellenic warrior. His exploits are performed more by dint of muscular strength than of military prowess, and his personal equipment is marked by features of rudeness and ferocity corresponding to those of his character. His favourite weapon is a club of solid brass; his coat of mail a lion's hide: the body forms the tunic; the head, drawn over that of the wearer, serves as his helmet.[1] The character of the foes he conquers is similarly varied and exaggerated. The

[1] Strab. xv. p. 688.; Düntz. frg. i. p. 89.; Theocrit. Epigr. xx.

hydra, in the old tradition but an ordinary water-snake of vast dimensions, is invested with numerous heads[1], and the expedients resorted to for its destruction are proportionally magnified or multiplied. Of his bow, for expertness in which he was celebrated by Homer, Alcides was deprived by Pisander altogether. Such a weapon was inconsistent with the sturdy hand to hand ferocity for which the hero was now to be distinguished. . Hence, instead of shooting the Stymphalian birds with arrows, as in the older tradition, he frightens them away with the sound of gongs or cymbals.[2] Such antagonists were too mean to be appropriately assailed by the Pisandrian Hercules with the ordinary weapons of war. Other adventures and exploits first imagined by Pisander, or to which prominence was first assigned by him, were, the hero's Hyperborean expedition and capture of the stag with the golden horns; the destruction of the dragon which kept the gate of the garden of the Hesperidæ; and the victory over the giant Antæus, and his mother and ally Terra. Pisander may also be considered as having originated the legend of the tepid springs miraculously produced by Minerva, on the shore of Trachinia celebrated in later times as the Straits of Thermopylæ, to refresh her favourite hero with a warm bath during his labours. The only existing traces of astrological mysticism are, the hero's voyage across ocean in the drinking-bowl of the Sun, and the promotion of the Nemean lion to the honours of a celestial constellation.[3]

[1] Paus. II. xxxvii. 4. [2] Paus. VIII. xxii. 4.

[3] See the fragments ap. Düntzer, p. 88. sqq., Müll. Dor. vol. II. p. 475., and Clint. Fast. Hell. p. 366., who, however, confounds the remains of this author, in several instances, with those of the later Pisander

The poem was divided into two books.[1] Three verses alone have been preserved, and afford no unfavourable impression of the style. One of them contains a maxim, boldly conceived and vigorously expressed, though not of the purest moral tendency, that "falsehood is no crime where a man's life is at stake."[2]

5. EPIMENIDES,

Epimenides.

the Cretan sage and poet, enjoys a high celebrity in the political as well as literary annals of Greece. His biography also combines, more perhaps than any other of this period, the apparently incongruous features of being no less palpably connected with the realities of history than deeply enveloped in the mists of fable. Gnossus, the capital of his native island, has been assigned as his birthplace, and was probably his habitual abode. In other, perhaps more authoritative, notices the former honour is awarded to the town of Phæstus.[3] His father is variously designated Agesarchus, Dosiades, or Phæstius. His mother, under the title of Blaste or Balte, is allotted a share of her son's marvellous attributes, in the popular legend of which the following is an outline.[4]

His legendary biography.

In early youth, when tending his father's flocks in the neighbourhood of his native city, and reposing during the noonday heat in a cave, he was overtaken by a sleep which lasted during a

of Laranda. The distinction between the two poets was first carefully drawn by Heyne (Exc. I. ad Æn. II.), and has been kept in view by Düntzer and Müller.

[1] Suid. loc. cit. [2] Frg. VI. Düntz.

[3] Strab. x. p. 479.; Plut. De Def. Orac. init., Conv. Sept. Sap. XIV., Vit Solon. XII.; conf. Suid. v. Ἐπιμ.; Paus. I. xiv. 3.; Diog. Laert. in Vit. Epimen. I.

[4] Auctt. sup. citt.; conf. Plin. H. N. VII. 53.; Max. Tyr. Diss. XXVIII. XXII.; Heinrich. Epimenides, Leipz. 1801.

period varying, in the different versions of the story, from forty to fifty-seven years. On awakening, under the impression of having enjoyed but an afternoon's slumber, he proceeded to look after his cattle. Seeing no signs of them, and struck with the altered aspect of his paternal farm, to all appearance in the hands of other occupants, he walked into the town to inquire what had happened. Calling at the door of the family residence, he found himself an entire stranger to its inmates, who demanded who he was, and the object of his visit. At length he succeeded in identifying the person of a younger brother whom he had left a boy, now an aged man, which recognition furnished a clue to the mystery.

That during his miraculous trance he had been favoured, as he himself asserted, by the personal converse and tuition of the gods soon became manifest, in the divine wisdom, prophetic inspiration, and other superhuman faculties, physical and moral, with which he was endowed. The duration of his life[1], according to the lowest estimate, was, including his sleep, 157 years. The Cretans, however, declared that he survived to the age of 299, maintaining the full vigour of both mental and bodily faculties till within a short period of his death, his actual old age being limited to the same number of days as that of the years which he had slept in the cavern. He also professed to have already lived several lives; that his soul had formerly animated the body of Æacus; and that, in its present state of existence, it had the power of quitting and reentering its earthly tenement at pleasure.[2] His favourite objects of worship were the Nymphs, by whom he was presented with a drug which had the virtue of relieving him of the necessity of taking food, and of the burthen of all bodily secretions.[3] This treasure he carried concealed about his person in the hoof of an ox, swallowing a small portion of it from time to time, and was never observed to take other nourishment. His devotion to those goddesses was such as to create jealousy on the part of his divine patrons of higher rank; and one day, while dedicating a sanctuary to the former, he was interrupted by a voice calling from the clouds, "Not to the nymphs, O Epimenides, but to Jove."

On the spread of his reputation for divine attributes, he was

[1] Diog. Laert. in Vit. IV.; Plin. H. N. VII. 53.; Suid. in v. Ἐπιμ.; conf. Heinrich. Epim. p. 41.

[2] Suid. loc. cit.

[3] Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. XIV., Demetr. et Timæus, ap. Diog. in Vit. X.

invited to Athens by Solon, in compliance with a response of the Pythian oracle, to purify the city from the pollution and pestilence consequent on the massacre of the suppliants at the divine altar, after the break up of the Cylonian conspiracy.[1] He was transported from his native place with festive solemnity, in a vessel commissioned by the Athenian state for the purpose. The mode in which he exercised his office was, according to some accounts, to let loose a herd, partly of white partly of black cattle, on the Areopagus, whence they were allowed to roam at liberty through the Attic territory. Where one of their number lay down to repose, an altar was built, and a sacrifice offered to the patron deity of the place, whoever he might be. In this way some explained the origin of the celebrated Athenian altars to the Unknown gods. Other accounts limit his services to the more simple expedient of pronouncing the stain of profanely shed blood the cause of the evil, and that by bloodshed alone could the offence be atoned.[2] On his departure, he was conveyed back to Crete with the same honours, after refusing a talent of gold offered him by the republic in repayment of his good offices, contenting himself with a sprig from the divine olive tree of the Acropolis. Similar services of lustration were performed by him for other states.[3] When at Athens, viewing the port of Munychia, he foretold the national disasters of which it was ordained to be the scene many years afterwards; also the Persian war and its successful issue; and was believed to have obtained from the gods a few years' additional delay of the Barbarian expedition.[4] He also forewarned the Lacedæmonians of the signal defeat they were destined to experience at the hand of the Arcadians, which afterwards befell them at the Peloponnesian Orchomenus.

According to some accounts[5] Epimenides died tranquilly at home, shortly after his return from Athens. Others described him, when taken prisoner in a war between Crete and Sparta, as having been put to death by the Lacedæmonians, in revenge of some alleged sinister influence on their affairs; but not till after he had been detained for some time in durance, and constrained to perform

[1] Conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. ad Ol. xlvi. b. c. 596.

[2] According to Athenæus, by human sacrifice irrespective of the guilt of the victim. Deipn. p. 602.; Neanthes ap. eund.

[3] Plut. Conv. Sept. Sap. xiv.

[4] Clem. Alex. Str. p. 631. b.

[5] Diog. Laert. in vit.

the functions of priest and augur in their service.[1] By his countrymen he was decreed divine honours[2], and numbered among their patron deities the Curetes; while his mother Balte was promoted to the rank of Nymph. His skin was discovered at his death to be covered with written characters[3], and was preserved, or as some reported his entire corpse, at Sparta as a sacred relic. The possession of this treasure was, however, disputed by the Argives.[4]

His influence on his age.

6. Apart from its intrinsic moral or historical value, this singular biography possesses interest, from the new and lively phasis in which it exhibits Greek poetical fancy, as exercised on the mystical or sacerdotal element of the popular superstition. The primary fiction of the series, the trance in the cave, supplies also the germ or prototype of numerous similar chapters of later European romance; itself, perhaps, modelled after some older Eastern original of "The Sleeper awakened." That Epimenides was an impostor can hardly be disputed. He deserves, however, the credit of having exercised his delusive arts for the benefit of his fellow-men, rather than from any sordid motive of personal interest or vulgar ambition. Nor can the legend of his marvellous pretensions or performances have originated in any other source than his own superior powers of intellect, his proficiency in the science and philosophy, as well as the cabalistic priestcraft, of his age, and his ascetic purity of manners.[5] The more subtle interpretations of his fifty-seven years' trance, as allusive to the number of years he had devoted to solitary medi-

[1] Paus. II. xxi. 4, III. xi. 8., xii. 9.
[2] Diog. in vit. xi.; Plut. vit. Sol. xii.
[3] Suid. loc. cit.; conf. Fabr. Bibl. Gr. vol. I. p. 34.
[4] Diog. in vit. xii.; Paus. locc. citt.
[5] See Plat. Leg. p. 642.; Cicero de Div. I. xviii.

tation, and so forth [1], while they damage the fabulous interest, add little to the historical probability of his biography. The period at which Epimenides flourished was one peculiarly favourable to the success of his arts. It was an epoch of rapid transition from poetical to practical civilisation, from the ascendancy of the imagination to that of the intellect; a state of things offering, in every age, to such as combined both those mental faculties in so eminent a degree, special facilities for acquiring influence over their fellow-men. Where knowledge is rare, and by consequence too valuable to be freely communicated, the wise man is tempted to turn the folly of his neighbours to account, often for their own benefit, in securing to himself the credit of supernatural attributes. The same science which in the future progress of events serves to dissipate, here conspires rather to thicken, the mists of popular ignorance; and the art of calculating an eclipse, or solving a problem in chemical science, became in the hands of Epimenides or Pythagoras, as of Roger Bacon or Michael Scott in our own middle ages, not so much a means of enlightening their contemporaries, as of augmenting the darkness in which they were immersed.

But in whatever degree Epimenides may have profited by the superstition of his countrymen in the extension of his own fame or influence, he seems to have allowed himself a considerable latitude of scepticism as to the accuracy of the individual dogmas on which that superstition was founded. Upon one occasion, when favoured with an ambiguous, and, as appeared to him, unmeaning, response from the Pythoness, he told her

[1] Ap. Heinrich. op. cit. p. 43. sqq.

plainly that "the oracle might be the prophetic centre of the earth in the estimation of its own god, but hardly deserved to be so in that of the men who consulted it." For this boldness he was warned off the bounds of the sanctuary.[1]

The influence of Epimenides extended even into quarters distinguished by that sound judgement and common sense which might have been expected to place them beyond the reach of such delusion. The story of his supernatural longevity appears to have been countenanced by his own younger contemporary Xenophanes of Colophon[2], one of the earliest practical philosophers of Greece. His visit to Athens, and intercourse with Solon, are also among the best authenticated facts of his history. In addition to his other more miraculous influence on the affairs of that city, he has the credit of having suggested important reforms[3] in the sacred as well as civil institutions of the republic, afterwards embodied in the legislation of Solon; of having simplified and purified the sacred rites; abrogated various remains of barbarous superstition and extravagant ceremonial; and promoted, generally, moral and religious habits and social unity among the citizens.

The epoch assigned by more reasonable authorities to the birth of Epimenides is the second year of the xxxth Olymp., 659 B. C. His visit to Athens took place in Olymp. xlvi., 596 B. C.[4] He was then, therefore, sixty-three years of age. His death, as narrated in connexion with that visit, oc-

[1] Plut. de Def. Orac. init. [2] Ap. Diog. Laert. in vit. iv.
[3] Plut. in Solon. xii.; Conv. Sept. Sap. xiv. alibi; Heinrich. Epimen. p. 97. sqq.
[4] Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an. 596 B.C.

curred a year or two afterwards.[1] He was then consequently under seventy, the average limit of human longevity, and an age considerably less than half that allotted him in even the more moderate version of the popular tradition. It must further be remarked, as one of the most curious anomalies of his singular history, that by Plato[2] he is described as having visited, or rather revisited, Athens about ten years prior to the Persian invasion (the first by Darius, it may be presumed)[3], and as having foretold its occurrence. As this second visit would fall about ninety-five years after his first to Solon, the duration of his life, assuming him to have died immediately after his return home, would thus have been prolonged to within a year of the exact period of 157 years, allotted to him in the least extravagant of the fabulous accounts. This coincidence seems to imply that Plato, or at least the Cretan mouthpiece through whom he speaks, adopted the mythical view of the poet's history. By a similar conflict of dates, Epimenides, in some accounts, is made the master, in others the disciple, of Pythagoras. But whatever correspondence of doctrine may be traceable between the two, the right of priority certainly belongs to the Cretan sage.[4]

Accredited works.

The principal accredited works of Epimenides[5] were, a Theogony, in five thousand lines; a Genealogy of the Curetes and Corybantes; an Argonautica, in six thousand five hundred lines; and a poem on Minos and Rhadamanthus, in four thousand lines. The more immediate subject of the Argonautica seems to have been the outfit and departure of the armament, pro-

[1] Diog. Laert. in vit. iv.
[2] De Legg. p. 642 D.
[3] Heinrich. Epimen. p. 18. sqq.
[4] Heinrich. Epimen. p. 21. sqq.
[5] Diog. Laert. v.; Fabr. Bibl. Gr. Harl. vol. I. p. 31.

bably a mystical inauguration of the enterprise, with prophetic anticipation of its results. The other minor poems ascribed to him were of a strictly religious character, oracular decrees[1], and sacrifical or lustral odes. All were probably composed in hexameter verse. Their loss deprives us of any sufficient means of estimating their merits or claims to genuine character. Several prose works[2] were also assigned to Epimenides in later times, any remarks on which belong to another place. The extant citations of his text relate chiefly to the genealogy of the gods or leading heroes, and, assuming the works to which they refer to be genuine, abundantly testify the mystical character of his innovations on the old popular fable.[3] Of his entire compositions six lines alone, in good epic style, have been preserved. One of these, quoted by St. Paul[4], contains a satirical reflexion on the imputed vices of the poet's own countrymen.

ARISTEAS (Arimaspea).

Aristeas of Proconnesus.

7. Two other poets of the same mysterious class, whose age, in so far as a real personality can be awarded them, nearly coincides with that of Epimenides, but whose history is of a still more broadly

[1] Strab. x. p. 479.; conf. Suid. loc. cit.

[2] Fabric. loc. cit.; Athen. vii. p. 282.; Eratosth. Catast. 27.

[3] According to Epimenides the original Chaos was composed of Æther and Nox, from whom sprang the egg which gave birth to the rest of the creation. Aphrodite was daughter neither of Uranus nor Jupiter, as in Hesiod and Homer, but of Saturn. The Dioscuri were male and female, the former representing life and unity, the latter nature and duality. Rhodes was daughter of Ocean, not of the Sun, as in her own tradition. The wife of Laius, and mother of Œdipus, was neither Epicasta nor Jocasta, but Euryclea. Düntz. fragm. p. 69. sqq.

[4] Paul ad Tit. i. 12.; conf. Clem. Alex. Str. i. p. 299. Sylb.

mythical tenor, are, Aristeas, of Proconnesus a Milesian colony on the Propontis; and Abaris, the Hyperborean.

Aristeas has already been noticed as having obtained credit in some quarters for certain works attributed in others to Pisander. His biography acquires an additional interest from having been narrated in some detail by Herodotus. The following is the substance of that historian's account[1], illustrated by other subsidiary notices. Herodotus professes to give but the popular tradition, without vouching for either its authenticity or credibility.

Legend of his life.

Aristeas, the Proconnesian, son of Caystrobius, and member of a distinguished family of his native republic, while standing one day in a fuller's shop, suddenly fell down dead. The fuller, locking up his premises, hastened to communicate the unfortunate event to the relatives of the deceased. The news spread through the town. Before, however, the necessary means for removing the body could be prepared, a citizen, just arrived from a journey, came forward and denied the truth of the fuller's story, asserting positively that, about the hour at which Aristeas was described as having died, he had himself met and conversed with him outside of the gate, on the road towards Cyzicus. In order to bring the matter to a test, the party proceeded to the fuller's house, where, on unlocking the shop door, no Aristeas was to be seen, either dead or alive. Nothing more was heard of him during seven years. At the expiry of this term he reappeared, and, settling again in his native city, composed an epic poem, comprising the results of his researches in the unexplored regions of the North, into which he had been transported by the agency of Apollo, during his period of expatriation. This work, entitled Arimaspea, treated, in three books[2], of the affairs of the Arimaspians, with the history and geography of the Griffins, guardians of the golden harvest; of their wars against the Arimaspians, in defence of the sacred treasure[3]; and of the Hyperboreans, beyond them to the north, whose country was bounded by the Arctic Ocean. The Arimaspians were described

[1] Herodot. iv. xiii. sqq.; conf. Pind. fragm. ap. Boeckh. p. 657.

[2] Suid. v. Ἀριστέας. [3] Conf. Paus. i. xxiv. 6.

as a race of Scytho-Cyclops, or one-eyed barbarians, covered with hair[1]; the Griffins as lions in body with the head and wings of eagles. Immediately after the publication of his poem Aristeas again disappeared.

Three hundred and forty years after this second disappearance, the city of Metapontum, in Southern Italy, was visited by a stranger, who ordered the inhabitants to erect an altar to Apollo, with a statue to himself by its side, inscribed with his name, "Aristeas of Proconnesus." He also informed them that they alone among the Italiote Greeks had ever, in former times, been favoured by the personal presence of Apollo; and that he, Aristeas, had accompanied the god on that occasion, in the form of a raven.[2] After delivering himself of this communication, he vanished. The Metapontines, before taking any step, sent to consult the Delphic oracle, and received an order from the Pythoness to fulfil the injunctions of their guest. An altar was erected accordingly, and two statues, one to Apollo, the other to Aristeas, with his name inscribed in terms of his own instructions. These monuments were seen by Herodotus when he visited the place, in the agora, under the shade of a small grove of laurels.[3] Aristeas, like Epimenides, asserted, and obtained credit for, the power of his soul to quit his body at pleasure, and roam at large through both earth and heaven, with which latter region he claimed to be better acquainted than with his native globe.[4]

The 340 years of interval reckoned by the Metapontines between the last disappearance of Aristeas from Proconnesus and his visit to them, added to the æra of Herodotus, would give 800 B.C. But as the visit to Metapontum, from the tenor of the historian's narrative, was already matter of antiquity in that city, another century or more may safely be added, to make up the fabulous epoch of the traveller. Accordingly, in some of the popular notices, Aristeas is not only ranked as coeval with Homer, but as the in-

[1] Frg. II. Düntz. p. 87. [2] Conf. Plin. Hist. N. VII. liii.
[3] Conf. Athen. XIII. p. 605.
[4] Suid. loc. cit.; Max. Tyr. Dis. xxii. xxviii.; Plin. Hist. N. VII. liii.

structor of that poet in their common epic art.[1] The greater his pretensions to mythical antiquity, the more necessary the distinction, as in the parallel cases of Orpheus, Musæus, and other fabulous minstrels, between his own age and that of the works which passed current under his name. The heads of subject treated in the Arimaspea themselves afford argument that the composition of the work could not have preceded the latter half of the seventh century B.C.; and the legend, even as digested by Herodotus, contains details broadly at variance with its chronological results. Proconnesus, the birthplace of Aristeas, was not founded, in the accredited accounts, until 715 B.C.[2], so that no adventure of one of its natives could well have taken place until towards the middle of the ensuing seventh century. The style of the poem also, judging from the twelve extant verses, savoured but little of the flourishing age of the Epic Muse, being chiefly remarkable for an effort to impart novel effect to trite or even offensive ideas and images by rhetorical pomp of language or affected figures of speech. The original Aristeas, therefore, if not, as seems the more probable view, a purely mythical personage, may have been one of the earlier adventurers who, from the colonies settled in various parts of the Euxine during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.[3], visited or explored the inhospitable regions of the North, and around whose name the fabulous tales of Hyperborean wonder which afterwards obtained currency, when embodied in epic form, were concentrated. The only specific date assigned him[4], which brings him down as low as the LIth Olympiad, may be

[1] Strab. XIV. p. 639. A.; conf. I. p. 21.
[2] Clint. Fast. Hell. ad an.
[3] Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 156.
[4] Suid. loc. cit.

considered the result of a critical estimate of the internal evidence of his poem, rather than of any more accurate researches into his own personal history.

His works. The Arimaspea.

Besides the Arimaspea and certain other works above noticed as doubtful whether by Aristeas or Pisander, a prose Theogony is attributed by more recent authorities[1] to the former poet. The Arimaspea[2], though familiarly quoted by authors of later date, is described by Gellius[3] as little read, and not easily procured in his time (A.D. 130). The longest extant passage of the poem comprises six hexameter verses of turgid commentary on the dangers and discomforts of maritime life, among which a special prominence is given to sea-sickness. The mariners are described "with their eyes fixed on the stars, their minds on the bottomless deep, invoking the gods with outstretched hands and cruelly agitated entrails."[4] The hyperbolical extravagance of this passage has been appropriately contrasted by Longinus[5] with the simple grandeur of parallel descriptions by Homer and Archilochus, in illustration of the proverbial shortness of the "step from the sublime to the ridiculous."

Interpretation of the above legend.

8. The mystical element of this poet's legendary biography is identified throughout with the worship of Apollo, at that time extensively in vogue among pretenders to supernatural gifts. The Metapontine adventure of Aristeas hinges entirely upon his connexion with that deity, by whose influence, Phœbus-smitten, to use his own expressive phrase, he described

[1] Suid. loc. cit. [2] Frgg. ap. Düntz. p. 86. sqq. [3] IX. 4.

[4] Bode has, strangely enough, understood this last verse as allusive to the entrails of the victims sacrificed to the gods. Gesch. der Gr. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 476. [5] X. 4.

himself as having been impelled to undertake his Hyperborean expedition. The Hyperborean land is described, in another remarkable chapter of the same volume of fable, as distinguished for its devotion to Apollo in his character of agricultural deity[1]; and this devotion was symbolised by an annual tribute of ears of corn, conveyed by way of Dodona to his sanctuary of Delos by messengers called "Perphereës."[2] Through the medium of this same variety of the character and worship of Apollo, the legend of the Phœbus-smitten Aristeas connects itself no less closely than curiously with that of the equally mythical Aristæus, son of the same god, to a portion of whose history attention has already been directed as the supposed subject of a poem of Eumelus.[3] This Aristæus was a Helleno-Thracian agricultural hero or deity, whose life was devoted to the spread of the arts of rural economy through the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and who occasionally assumes the person and honours of his father Apollo, under the title of Apollo Aristæus.[4] The Proconnesian Aristeas is similarly identified with the arts of agriculture, through the same remarkable tradition, above noticed, of the Hyperborean tribute of ears of corn to the Delian altar of his patron. It is an ingenious suggestion of Niebuhr[5], that the title Hyperborean, in this latter case, indicates the North-Western or Adriatic race of Pelasgi, who by this annual mission maintained their primeval

[1] See Müll. Dor. II. iv. vol. I. p. 267. sqq.; Boeckh. Explic. ad Pind. p. 324.; Spannhem. ad Callim. p. 493.

[2] Herodot. IV. xxxiii.; Callim. Hymn. ad Del. 284. sq., et Spannhem. ad loc.; conf. Müll. op. cit. p. 271.

[3] Supra, p. 451.

[4] Pind. Pyth. IX. 64.; conf. Boeckh. Expl. p. 324.; Müll. Dor. vol. II. p. 281.; Orchom. 2d ed. p. 342.

[5] Röm. Gesch. 2d ed. vol. I. p. 84. sq.

community of religious rite with their Hellenic kinsmen. The name of the messengers, Perphereës, "carriers," finds, accordingly, its palpable etymology (perfero) in the Italo-Pelasgic dialects. But the proper emblems of Metapontum, the city and state so highly favoured by Apollo, and where the "Apollo-smitten" Hyperborean traveller Aristeas was honoured in company with his divine patron, were Ears of corn. These emblems form, accordingly, the device of the Metapontine coins[1], combined with the figure of the god, occasionally, perhaps, with that of his servant Aristeas. This singular series of coincidences seems conclusively to prove that the further coincidence between the names of the Apollinean heroes, Aristeas and Aristæus, and the Italo-Pelasgic term Arista, ear of corn, is not the result of mere chance. It sheds, consequently, a new and striking light on the primitive connexion between the severed branches of the old Pelasgic stem.

ABARIS.

Abaris, the Hyperborean.

The history of Abaris, son of Seuthes, is in many respects a counterpart of that of Aristeas. Although a native Hyperborean or Scythian[2], his adventures and accredited productions sufficiently connect him with Hellas to entitle him to a place in her literary annals. During a great pestilence in his native country, he migrated southwards to Delphi, renewed an antient bond of alliance between that community and his own nation, and engaged himself as servant or agent of Apollo. In this capacity he travelled over the

[1] Müller, Dor. vol. I. p. 264., mentions, but without citing his authority, an offering of ears of corn, similar to that of the Hyperboreans, as annually paid by the Metapontines also to the Delian Apollo.

[2] Plato, Charmid. p. 158 B.; Paus. III. xiii. 2.; Strab. VII. p. 301 B.

world, imparting the sacred functions of his master, prophecy, lustration, and other beneficent arts, to the nations, and collecting from them in return devotional offerings for the Pythian shrine. This service he performed, bearing an arrow on his head, the gift and symbol of the god, or, in other accounts, riding on the weapon through the air.[1] Like Epimenides, he was exempt from the human necessity of taking food, and endowed with the power of swaying the elements to his purposes.[2] The age of this mysterious person fluctuates, in the popular data, between that of Orpheus and that of Pythagoras. Pindar[3] fixed the date of his visit to Greece in the age of Crœsus. Some authorities describe him as a disciple and friend of Pythagoras, who showed him his golden thigh, and in a joint disputation defended the merits of their common philosophy before Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum.[4] Among the spurious letters current under the name of that prince is one from him to Abaris[5], with the answer of the Hyperborean sage. Phalaris himself is said to have died suddenly on the morning of the same day on which he had determined to put his gifted correspondent to death.[6] These lower dates refer, probably, here, as in other like cases, to the age to which, in more critical quarters, the works that passed under the name of Abaris were ascribed. Of those works, now entirely lost, the more remarkable were, the Nuptials of the river Hebrus and the Pro-

[1] Herodot. iv. xxxvi.; Iambl. vit. Pythag. § 141.

[2] Suid. v. Ἀβ.; Porphyr. vit. Pythagor. § 28.; Iambl. vit. Pythag. § 136. alibi.

[3] Fragm. Pind. Boeckh. p. 657.

[4] Porphyr. vit. Pyth. § 29.; Iambl. vit. Pyth. § 135. 216.

[5] Phalar. Epist. LVI. LVII. ed. Boyl.

[6] Iambl. vit. Pyth. § 221.

gress of Apollo to his Hyperborean dominions; besides oracular responses, lustral odes and charms, and a prose Theogony.[1]

9. HEGESINOÜS is mentioned by Pausanias as author of a poem entitled Atthis, confounded by modern commentators[2] with the Amazonia or Æthiopis of Arctinus. Pausanias[3] also quotes four verses of the text, in tolerably pure epic style, adding that he gives them at second hand, as the entire work had perished long before his time. They describe, in the way of episode it may be presumed, the mythical origin of Hesiod's birthplace Ascra. Nothing further is known, either of author or the contents of the poem, beyond what is implied by its title, that it related to the affairs of Athens. That it was a poetical repertory of Attic genealogy and miscellaneous tradition, rather than a regular epopee, may also be inferred from the subsequent adoption of the same title by authors of prose works on the mythical annals of Attica. Hegesinoüs (Atthis).

CHERSIAS, a Bœotian of Orchomenus, was author of genealogical compositions the titles of which have not survived, but which seem to have related chiefly to the affairs of his native district. He was contem- Chersias.

[1] Suid. v. Ἄβ.; conf. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vol. I. p. 11. Harles.

[2] Welck. Ep. C. p. 313.; Bode, Gesch. der Hellen. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 404.; Düntz. frg. p. 4. Welcker (Ep. C. p. 33.) himself supplies a conclusive objection to this view, in his own remark, that the Cyclic Amazonia was still extant in the time of Pausanias; whereas Pausanias himself distinctly states that the Atthis had perished before he was born. Nor is there a hint, by any antient authority, of Attic subjects having been treated in the Cycle. Of the Cyclic Amazonia, see supra, Ch. xix. § 10.

[3] IX. xxix. The other citation by Strabo, referred to by Düntzer (frg. p. 4.), is evidently from a prose Atthis. The assignment, by the same compiler, of the four verses quoted by the Schol. of Pind. to this poem is purely conjectural.

poraneous and intimate with Periander of Corinth and Chilon of Lacedæmon, two of the reputed Seven Sages. His poems were lost in the time of Pausanias, who quotes from them, at second hand, two somewhat commonplace verses. He also mentions Chersias as the accredited author of the elegiac epitaph on the mausoleum of Hesiod at Orchomenus, ascribed by some to Pindar.[1]

The remaining poems in the foregoing list, the Phoronis, Danaïs, Theseïs, and Alcmæonis, although no distinct notice is preserved either of their authors or the epoch of their composition, may yet, from the tenor of the existing fragments or appeals to their text, reasonably be assigned a place in this period. In the absence of more specific data, they have been classed in the order of their subjects.

Phoronis. The Phoronis[2] evidently derives its name from Phoroneus, son of Inachus, the primeval Pelasgic sovereign of Argos. As no adventures of a properly heroic character are recorded of this personage, the work may be presumed to have been rather a metrical chronicle of early Argive history than a heroic epopee. Its remains, referring exclusively to sacred matters, vouch for an extensive theological element. The hero was styled the "father of mortal men." The thirteen verses which have been preserved[3] are not deficient in ease and purity of versification. They relate chiefly to the Curetes and Idæi Dactyli, and to the first institution of the rites of Juno, the patron divinity of Argos.

Danaïs. The Danaïs, devoted, as its name implies, to the adventures of Danaüs, the Egyptian colonist of

[1] Pausan. ix. xxxviii. 6.; conf. Clint. Fast. Hell. vol. i. p. 366.
[2] Düntz. fragm. p. 68. [3] Düntz. fragm. p. 57.

Argos, and his fifty daughters, may be considered as a continuation of the Phoronis. It comprised 5500 verses [1], two alone of which remain, describing the preparation of the vessel of the fugitive princesses at the mouth of the Nile. The poem is also cited relative to the birth of the Attic hero Erichthonius.[2]

The Theseïs is adduced by Aristotle [3] as a sample of those epic poems which aimed rather at methodical fulness of historical detail than unity of poetical action. The terms of this criticism, though implying, if taken by the letter, that the hero's whole career of adventure was treated, may be more fairly understood as indicating a tedious minuteness in the portion selected as the subject of the poem. It is the less easy to decide what that portion may have been, that there existed other poems of later date under the same title; and the citations rarely afford the means of ascertaining to which they refer. Assuming, however, as is probable, that a passage of Plutarch, containing the most detailed extant notice of a Theseïs, alludes to the more ancient poem quoted by Aristotle, it would appear that a prominent portion of its action was the war between Theseus and the Amazon queen Antiope, in which the heroine was defeated, chiefly through the prowess of Hercules, as ally of the Athenians. The adventures of the Theban hero, as the friend and comrade of Theseus, seem, from the tenor of the extant notices, to have further entered largely into the action of the poem. The citation, by the scholiast of Pindar, of the "author of the Theseïs," in connexion with Pisander and Pherecydes, as an authority relative to the golden stag of Istria, captured

Theseïs.

[1] Tab. Borg. ap Welck. Ep. Cyc. p. 35.
[2] Düntz. fragm. p. 3.
[3] Poetic. VIII. ed. Gräfenh.

by Hercules, may safely be referred to the more antient poem of the name.[1]

THE ALCMÆONIS.

Alcmæonis.

10. This poem has, by eminent modern critics[2], been supposed the same as the Cyclic Epigoni, but on very inadequate grounds. That to which a chief weight has been attached is the circumstance that Alcmæon, son of Amphiaraus, the hero from whom the title of the poem is evidently derived, was intrusted with the chief command of the second Theban expedition, celebrated in the Epigoni. But among the various citations of the Alcmæonis there is not one which tends to identify the subject of the two works; nor does Alcmæon enjoy any such preeminence in valour or heroic achievement among the younger heroes of the Theban war, as could warrant the selection of his name as the title of a poem in celebration of that adventure. His best claim to the part of protagonist in a heroic epopee is to be sought in a more recent period of his history, marked by original and powerful features both of poetical and national interest.[3]

Amphiaraus, when constrained, through the intrigues and avarice of his wife Eriphyle, to join the first Theban expedition, in which he foresaw he was to perish, exacted from his son Alcmæon a promise to avenge his father's death by the blood of his unnatural mother. This vow remained unfulfilled until the close of the second war, in which Alcmæon himself had been induced, by similar intrigues of Eriphyle, to take part. After his return home, he consults the Delphic oracle, and with its sanction carries his fatal purpose into execution. Pursued, in the sequel, by the Furies of his mother, and deprived both of rest of body and peace of mind,

[1] Welck. Ep. C. p. 321. sqq.; conf. Düntz. fragm. p. 62.

[2] Welck. Ep. C. p. 209.; Düntz. p. 7.

[3] Apollodor. III. vii. 2. sqq.; Thucyd. II. cii., conf. lxviii.; Paus. VIII. xxiv. 4.; conf. Strab. XI. p. 462.; Ovid. Met. IX. 404. sqq.

he wanders disconsolate and maniac over the face of Hellas. Passing through Arcadia, he is hospitably received by Phegeus, prince of Psophis, who purifies him from the blood-stain, and gives him his daughter Arsinoë in marriage. The bridegroom bestows on his spouse, among other nuptial gifts, the golden necklace and royal mantle with which his mother had been bribed by Polynices to her acts of treachery. But neither his matrimonial ties, nor the lustral rite of Phegeus, afford him permanent relief from his disease of mind. He again has recourse to the oracle, which now enjoins him to seek the apparently hopeless refuge, of "a land which had not witnessed his crime, as not yet in existence at the period of its commission." After a further series of wanderings, during which he is hospitably received by Œneus, king of Ætolia, he at length settles in an island recently formed at the mouth of the river Acheloüs by the alluvial deposit of the stream. Having thus fulfilled the instructions of the oracle, he obtains relief and repose. Careless of his Arcadian kindred, he now marries Calliroë, daughter of the river god, who bears him two sons, Acarnan and Amphoterus. His new spouse conceives a longing for the possession of the celebrated necklace and mantle. Alcmæon accordingly journeys to the court of Phegeus, and having, under pretext of a divine order to dedicate those precious objects at the shrine of Delphi, procured them from Arsinoë, he sets out on his return to Acarnania, to present them to Calliroë. Phegeus, however, apprized of the deceit, sends his two sons in pursuit of his treacherous son-in-law, who is overtaken and slain. Calliroë, frantic with grief for the loss of her husband, supplicates Jove that her own two infant boys may be suddenly advanced to manhood, in order to avenge their parent's death. Her vow his gratified. The two young heroes assault and destroy not only the murderers of their father, but the old king Phegeus and his wife in the royal residence at Psophis. After defeating the citizens of Psophis in battle, they dedicate the necklace and mantle to the god of Delphi, and return triumphant to their native kingdom of Acarnania.

That this series of adventures formed the subject of the Alcmæonis may, apart from their own fine adaptation to epic treatment, be inferred from the extent to which they have been reproduced in the page of the tragic poets. To Sophocles they have furnished

matter certainly for one, probably for two, dramas; to Euripides, Ennius, and Accius for one each[1]; while nowhere has a similar prominence been assigned to this hero in any tragedy connected with the Theban war. As the tragedians drew their materials solely or chiefly from epic sources, it may be the more confidently inferred that they were here indebted to the Alcmæonis. To this circumstantial evidence may be added that supplied by the existing remains of, or appeals to, the text of the poem.[2] Several of these bear reference to the later vicissitudes of the life of the hero; in no case to the Theban wars. In one, the allusion to the history of Œneus and his family connects itself with the hospitality afforded by that prince to Alcmæon during his wanderings. In a second, mention occurs of the mythical connexion of the Laertian royal family with Acarnania, the name of which country was derived from Alcmæon's son by Calliroë. A third appears to be descriptive of the contumelious treatment of the corpses of Alcmæon's murderers. The remaining quotations, in one of which Atreus and his golden-fleeced ram, in another certain exploits of Peleus and Telamon are mentioned, bear no direct reference to any adventure of Alcmæon, and may have belonged to the incidental or illustrative parts of the narrative. The poem, there can be little doubt, was the popular epopee of the Acarnanian Hellenes, of the citizens of Amphilochian Argos, Œniadæ, and other states tracing their mythical foundation to the heroes of the Ætolian and Theban wars. The six remaining lines are in pure epic style, but are distinguished by no marked peculiarity either of sentiment or expression.

[1] Heyn. Obss. ad Apollod. p. 254. sqq.

[2] Düntz. frgm. p. 7. frg. IV. sqq.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A. (p. 134.)

PARALLEL "SELF-CONTRADICTIONS" OF HOMER AND DANTE.

ABUNDANT evidence exists, that it was quite consistent with the laws of Greek epic poetry, in every age, for the same author to give prominence in different works to very different versions of the same fable. Pindar, for example, in one of his odes, represented Orpheus as son of Apollo; in another, as son of the Thracian river Œagrus.[1] In one, he described the dithyramb as invented in Naxos; in another, at Thebes; in a third, at Corinth.[2] In one place he described Homer as a native of Smyrna; in another, as a native of Chios.[3] Nor do Heyne, Hermann, and other keenest of Homeric separatists, make any difficulty in assuming Æschylus to have represented the punishment of Prometheus, in different dramas, as taking place in different parts of the world.[4] That this license is not peculiar to the antients will be manifest from the following example, derived from the poet of modern times between whose general character and that of Homer there is so great analogy, and where the parallel to P. Knight's imputed case of discrepancy in the Greek poet is also very remarkable.

Dante, in the pathetic episode of Count Ugolino in the Inferno, has described the four younger victims of party rage who perished in the Tower of Famine, as sons of the count, and as young boys or youths of tender age.[5] But it is certain, from the authentic records of the period, that two only of his fellow-sufferers were his sons; that the other two were his grandsons; and that all four were grown men, active members of their parent's faction, and taken in arms with himself. Of this Dante could not be ignorant, being not only a con-

[1] Boeckh, Fragm. Pind. 188. [2] Frg. 43. [3] Frg. 189.
[4] Welck. Æsch. Trilog. p. 32. sq. [5] Canto XXXIII. 88.

temporary of Ugolino, but the man of all others of that day most conversant with the details of Tuscan history. He has therefore artfully given to the primary fact of the younger sufferers being the offspring of the principal victim the turn most conducive to poetical effect. But, it may be urged, the anomaly in Homer is not so much in the extreme youth assigned to Achilles in the Iliad, as that the same poet should have described the same hero, in the Odyssey, as father of a full-grown son. The analogy, however, will here also be found complete, by reference to the second subdivision of the Tuscan bard's mythological poem. The catastrophe of the Tower of Famine took place in 1288; Dante's mystical journey in 1300, twelve years afterwards. Among the departed souls with whom he converses in the "Purgatory,"[1] is that of Nino Visconti, another grandson of Ugolino. This person, it appears, from his own account of himself in the poem, as well as from contemporary history, was of advanced age at the epoch of his passage to the other world, and, to say the least, of mature manhood in 1288, the date of his grandfather's death in the tower. He appears, in fact, as early as 1282, acting as the able and popular leader of a powerful Pisan faction opposed to that of his grandfather.[2] The representation, consequently, by Dante, in the Inferno, of no fewer than four of Nino's uncles as young boys in 1288, involves a discrepancy between that poem and the Purgatorio which, upon modern Separatist principles, would infallibly prove the two works to be by different authors.

APPENDIX B. (p. 158.)

IMPUTED DISCREPANCIES IN THE COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY OF THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY.

In order to avoid an accumulation of controversial details in the text, the remarks suggested by the remaining objections, to which, under the heads of religion and manners, importance has been attached by Payne Knight and Nitzsch, the two leading advocates of the Separatist doctrine, have been reserved for this Appendix.

[1] Purg. cant. VIII. 47. sqq.

[2] See Giov. Vill. Istor. Fior. VII. lxxxiii, cxx, cxxiii.

1. *The Abode of the Gods.*

The abode of the gods, it is maintained, appears, as represented in the two poems, under as broad features of dissimilarity as the deities by whom it is inhabited. "In the Odyssey," it is said, "there is not a single allusion which appears to characterise Olympus as a mountain. It is never called snowy, never many-topped, or steep, or rugged, or by any other epithet of the class so frequently occurring in the Iliad. The gods are described as dwelling behind the clouds, and their seat on Olympus is painted in the same glowing colours as the Elysian Fields."[1] These allegations are, as will be shown, like others already examined, altogether groundless. But even were they well-founded, it might be a question whether the distinction drawn could properly be considered as more than a natural result of the difference of subject in the two poems. In the Iliad, the action is far more immediately connected with Olympus than in the Odyssey, owing to the number of Olympian deities of first rank who take part in the adventures of the former poem, and to their frequent journeys to and fro on their own account, or by order of Jove, who habitually maintains his seat on the summit of the mountain. The action of the Odyssey, on the other hand, as of comparatively local interest, is to Jove a matter of proportionally little concern; to Juno and the other properly Olympian deities, with the exception of Minerva, of none whatever. Hence, as a natural consequence of this distinction, the name Olympus occurs five times more frequently in the Iliad than in the Odyssey. Even, therefore, had the more peculiarly characteristic epithets of the mountain been omitted, in whole or in part, in the latter poem, that omission would scarcely have supplied ground on which to construct a theory. The fact is, however, that such epithets not only do occur in the Odyssey, but are proportionally as numerous in that poem as in the Iliad, and perhaps still more specific. The "many tops"[2] of the mountain are mentioned, and Minerva is described as walking down them. It is frequently designated as lofty[3] by the term μακρός, which with Homer is the proper epithet of lofty mountains, but is never applied to the heaven in its independant capacity. Olympus is also described as snowy by the epithet αἰγλήεις[4], "glittering;" a term which can here bear no other sense than that of "glittering

[1] Nitzsch, Artik. Odyssee, p. 407.
[2] I. 102., XXIV. 488.
[3] X. 307., XV. 43., XX. 73., XXIV. 351.
[4] XX. 103.

with snow," as well by reference to its parallel application to the mountain in the Iliad, as to the fact that it is never bestowed on the mere "heaven." The snow of the mountain is further indicated directly by the epithet λευκή, defining the nature of the glitter, and indirectly by the description, in the same passage[1], of the summit on which the gods dwelt as free from snow. The number and minuteness of these descriptive titles, compared with the limited number of times that the name of the mountain occurs in the Odyssey, seem to display at least as definite a conception of it in that poem as in the Iliad. The whole beautiful description indeed, in the last-cited passage of the Odyssey, deserves especial notice. Olympus is here figured as a mountain, the sides and visible summit of which are for the most part enveloped in snow and clouds, while its extreme peak, where the palace of Jove was situated, free from all such atmospheric contamination, enjoyed a perpetual brilliancy and serenity.

The distinction, or rather the confusion, between heaven as a mountain and heaven as a sphere, between the Olympian and the purely celestial dwelling of Jove, equally pervades both poems. It is indeed clear that neither the Homer of the Iliad nor the Homer of the Odyssey had any very definite idea on the subject, nor in truth was the distinction capable of being very accurately defined.

2. *On the Invisibility of the Gods.*

For the fallacy of another series of distinctions to which importance has been attached by Nitzsch, it might almost suffice to appeal to the general remarks offered in a previous chapter (Vol. I. p. 474.) on the divine mechanism of the poems. Respect for his authority, rather than for his arguments, will render it proper here briefly to notice them. "Both poems," it is said[2], "are so far in harmony, that the gods, in their intercourse with men, frequently appear in human disguise. But there is this marked difference between the Iliad and the Odyssey, that, in the former poem, the deities, when preserving their divine character, appear, as a general rule, visible to human eye, and, in order to conceal themselves, are under the necessity of enveloping their persons in a cloud or mist: in the Odyssey, on the other hand, they are essentially invisible to men without any such precaution; it is only to each other, as

[1] VI. 41. sqq. [2] Artik. Odyssee, p. 408.

in the visit of Hermes to Calypso, that they appear, in that poem, visible in their natural form."

The distinction is altogether imaginary, as an appeal to a few among many passages of each poem will at once evince.

Pallas, on the very first occasion of her appearance in the Iliad[1], is described as presenting herself in the Greek council without any cloud, invisible to all but Achilles, by whom alone it was her pleasure to be recognised.

In the ensuing battle, the same goddess removes the mist from the eyes of Diomed, "that he may be able to recognise the persons of gods as well as of men;"[2] or, in other words, "to recognise what was habitually invisible to him." It is surprising that Nitzsch, who cites this passage, should not have perceived it to be in itself subversive of his theory. What could be the use of removing a mist from a particular hero's eyes, if the persons of the gods were habitually palpable to the eyes of all human warriors? Minerva ought to have removed the mist, pronounced by Nitzsch their only means of concealment in the Iliad, from the persons of her fellow-deities, not from the eyes of Diomed. In the sequel, the hero, endowed with this divine second sight, is enabled to recognise various deities, Mars among others.[3] Yet Nitzsch does not hesitate to quote the hero's having, in the exercise of this new and exclusive privilege, descried that god in the distance, as proof that Mars was equally visible to the whole rest of the army.

When Apollo and Minerva interfere[4] to promote the duel between Hector and Ajax, it is evident from the whole context, and especially from the mode in which their conversation is described as penetrating to the ears of the augur Helenus, that their persons, without any cloud, were invisible to that hero as well as to the surrounding host. The same may be inferred as to Iliad II. 168. sqq., XXIV. 170. It were superfluous to accumulate citations, or numbers might be added.

Thus far the Iliad. In the Odyssey, we are told, the case is reversed: "In their divine personality the gods are here always invisible, never appearing to mortals but in some mortal disguise." Upon this principle, we must assume that Ulysses, during his long cohabitation with Circe and Calypso, never beheld either of those goddesses. Nitzsch asserts, accordingly, that Calypso appears in her own proper person to Mercury alone. We prefer the authority

[1] I. 198. [2] v. 127. [3] v. 596. [4] VII. 22. sqq., 44. sqq.

of Homer, who certainly describes both her and Circe as equally visible to their lover Ulysses, and the latter goddess as visible all along to the hero's mariners as well as to himself.

Minerva appears in her own proper person to Telemachus in Sparta[1]; and in Ithaca to Ulysses and to the dogs, while invisible to the hero's son. The same honour is vouchsafed by her to Ulysses on at least one other occasion, as well as by Hermes to the same hero.[2] Add to these examples the appearance of the sea goddess Idothea and of her father Proteus to Menelaus, and that of Leucothea to Ulysses.

The practice, therefore, is quite uniform, or it may rather be said quite arbitrary, in both poems. The gods appear in each visible or invisible, in their own proper persons or in disguise, as may suit their own convenience or that of the poet.

The subjoined passages offer a curious parallel in the phraseology as well as the doctrine of the two poems, and may be added to similar examples of unity formerly cited in the chapter on style:

Il. xx. 131. . . . χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς.

Od. xvi. 161. οὐ γάρ πω πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς.

The term ἐναργής, it may be observed, occurs but five times in Homer, twice in the Iliad, thrice in the Odyssey, and invariably with reference to divine apparitions. Hence the vainglorious Phæacians boast of their power of recognising the gods at all times as an especial boon to their favoured race (Od. vii. 201.); falsely, however, as appears from viii. 193. The humour of this, as of so many other parts of the poem, is a dead letter to separatist commentators.

3. *On the employment of Iris in the Iliad, Mercury in the Odyssey, as Jove's Messenger.*

The discrepancy in the religious mechanism of the two poems to which the greatest importance was attached by the old school of Separatists was the employment of Iris in the Iliad, of Hermes in the Odyssey, as the messenger of Jove. By Nitzsch, the chief of the modern Separatist school, this argument has been judiciously set aside, as more properly referable to difference of subject; and the soundness of his reasoning on this point renders

[1] xv. init. [2] Odyss. xvi. 159. sqq., conf. xiii. 287. sqq., x. 277.

it the more to be regretted that he has not allowed his judgement to operate in a like critical manner in regard to other peculiarities, equally, or still more naturally, accounted for by the same cause. To the motives which he has adduced for a preference of Mercury, inherent in the action of the Odyssey, may be added the marked popularity of the worship of that god in the Cephallenian islands and on the adjacent continent of Greece[1], and his near family connexion with the hero of the poem.[2]

The change of agency in the two poems may furnish the interpretation of an otherwise enigmatical passage of the Odyssey. On the first introduction of Hermes in that poem, Jove, when about to intrust him with a commission, addresses him as follows:[3]

Ἑρμεία· σὺ γὰρ αὖτε τά τ' ἄλλα περ ἄγγελός ἐσσι.
Hermes! for thou art again, as formerly, our messenger.

Whence this solicitude to announce, at the expense of so abrupt a parenthesis, that a deity, about to perform his customary functions, had been employed before in the same capacity? May not the apologetic or explanatory tone of the remark be interpreted as a spontaneous allusion by Homer, through the mouth of Jupiter, to the substitution of the god for the goddess; a poetical atonement, as it were, to the former for having previously appropriated to his female rival an office which by antient, and doubtless prior, right belonged also to himself?

APPENDIX C. (p. 163.)

ON THE IMPUTED DIFFERENCES IN THE STATE OF MANNERS AS DESCRIBED IN EACH POEM.

THE remaining distinctions of this nature urged by Payne Knight are founded on a misunderstanding of some of the pas-

[1] VII. 137., XVI. 471., XIV. 435. His worship, in this latter passage, connects itself with that of the nymphs, in honour, doubtless, of his mother, the nymph Maias, here also mentioned by name. Cyllene, one of his popular sanctuaries, whence his title Cyllenius and that of the neighbouring mountain-ridge, and where he was worshipped, as in Ithaca, under the special character of Lar or Household god, was on the projecting promontory of Elis, within a few miles of the Cephallenian group of islands. Pausan. VI. XXVI. 3.

[2] XIX. 395. sqq.

[3] V. 29.

sages cited by him, and on an arbitrary dismissal of others as spurious. Of the former class of cases may be taken as an example his appeal to the simile in the Odyssey [1], borrowed as he imagined from the art of falconry, and hence assumed by him, strangely enough at best, to indicate a more advanced state of manners in that poem. It is evident, however, from the phrase ἐξ ὀρέων ἐλθόντες, that the vultures (not hawks, as he translates the term αἰγυπιοί) here described were not trained, but wild birds.

The arguments of this critic, though reproduced by W. Müller and other secondary professors of the separatist school, have been very justly dismissed, as inconclusive or hypercritical, by Nitzsch, who supplies another series, similar in character, from his own resources. The impartial arbiter, however, will probably incline to pronounce the list of Payne Knight to be, upon the whole, the better of the two. The examination of a few items of that substituted by Nitzsch, for it were tedious to analyse the whole, will tend still further to show the weakness of a doctrine which required to be supported by such arguments. It will be remembered that this critic's whole train of reasoning proceeds on the hypothesis of a more advanced state of society in the Odyssey:[2]

"1. In both poems, missions are sent by states to demand redress for grievances, but in the Odyssey the ambassador is much younger than in the Iliad.

"2. In the former poem alone does any notice occur of engagements between states, binding the contracting parties to abstain from plundering each other, with penalties mutually imposed in case of violation.

"3. Prisoners of war are, it is true, occasionally set free in both poems, but in the Odyssey alone is there an instance of a captive marauder generously pardoned, and permitted to settle in the territory of his conqueror.

"4. Allusion is made, in the Odyssey alone, to the foundation of a city; and a new temple is promised, ex voto, to Apollo.

"5. In the Odyssey there is the peculiarity that the hand of the widow queen carries the crown along with it, while the crown prince retains but his own private patrimony," &c. &c.

The advocates of the old opinion might perhaps safely allow these, and about as many other similar subtleties, so gravely adduced by the same critic, to rest on their own merits. Let

[1] XXII. 302. sqq. [2] Artik. Odyssee, p. 406. sq.

us, however, concisely test their value in the order of their statement:

1. Extreme youth in an ambassador, if it indicate anything, were evidence rather of barbarism than of civilisation. In our own middle ages, a noble stripling would frequently be sent as envoy in cases where, in the present day, none but an aged and experienced statesman would be selected.

2. Such treaties of "black-mail" are about the rudest kind of alliance customary in the rudest ages, and but sorry proof of the superior civilisation of the Odyssey, when compared with the maintenance in the Iliad, during ten years, of two such mighty feudal confederacies as those ranged under the banners of Agamemnon and Priam.

3. The lively fiction of Ulysses, here referred to, may illustrate the generous character of the reigning Pharaoh of that day. But it is difficult to see in what respect the civilisation of Egypt can be adduced in illustration of that of Greece. With equal reason might the cases of Polyphemus and the Læstrygonians be cited as proof of brutal, even cannibal, barbarism in the Odyssey. One hears of no man-eaters in the Iliad.

4. Where both cities and temples abound, as they do in the Iliad, it may be presumed that they were occasionally both founded and dedicated. Direct allusions to such undertakings can prove nothing but that the subject of the one poem offered greater opportunity for the introduction of similar notices.[1]

5. There is no evidence whatever that the suitor on whom Penelope's choice might fall was to become king of the Cephallenians in right of her hand. Even supposing it to be so, it would prove but a singularity in the Achæan law of royal succession. That law, indeed, as illustrated in both poems, offers curious anomalies of heroic jurisprudence. It is never explained why, in both poems, Menelaus, through his wife Helen, should have inherited the kingdom of Tyndareus, to the prejudice of her brothers, the Dioscuri; or why Ulysses should, equally throughout both poems, appear as reigning sovereign, his father Laertes being still alive and, in the Iliad, still in vigorous health.

[1] He must indeed be a very subtle casuist who can discover in the allusion to the foundation of Scheria, Od. VI. 9., here adduced by Nitzsch, as compared with Il. XX. 216. sqq., XXI. 446., VII. 452. sq., any sensible advance in the science either of civic architecture or of fortification.

APPENDIX D. (p. 163.)

ON THE IMPUTED DIALECTICAL DISCREPANCIES OF THE TWO POEMS.

PAYNE KNIGHT is the Separatist commentator by whom the greatest importance has been attached to this head of evidence. Among the arguments most pointedly pressed by him are, the substitution in the Odyssey of contracted for primitive forms, as in δόατο for δοάσσατο, θέσπις for θεσπέσιος, νώνυμος for νώνυμνος, ἀγρότης for ἀγροιώτης, and the use of κρέα as a monosyllable, which word in the Iliad is bisyllabic.[1]

In the first four of these cases, the argument of archaïc usage, if valid at all, would be entirely in favour of the Odyssey. The obscure term δόατο, which occurs but once even in that poem, is assumed by Knight to be a contraction of δοάσσατο. Another critic, however, of still higher authority[2], prefers the reading δέατο, which he derives from an entirely different source. So precarious is the very foundation of this class of arguments. In any case, δόατο is an antiquated and, with the exception of this passage of the Odyssey, obsolete idiom.

Similar is the case with θέσπις. This epithet, far from being, as assumed by Knight, a contraction of θεσπέσιος, is the primary form, of which θεσπέσιος is an extension. That the form θέσπις, though it does not happen to have been employed by the author of the Iliad, was familiar before his time, is evident from another of its derivatives, θεσπιδάης, compounded of θέσπις and δαίω, and of frequent occurrence in that poem.

Νώνυμος and ἀγρότης, in like manner, are not derivatives of νώνυμνος and ἀγροιώτης. On the contrary, the latter are evident extensions of the more antient and simpler forms, suggested for the convenience of the hexameter verse.

Κρέα is a mere synizesis; it is also one of a class of synizeses[3] abounding in both poems, and perhaps most numerous in the Iliad. If the occurrence of κρέα as a monosyllable in the Odyssey alone be a proof of the recent age of that poem, the occurrence of ῥέα, ἑᾷ, βέλεα, in the same contracted form in the Iliad alone must

[1] Prolegg. XLIII. sqq. [2] Buttmann, Lexilog. vol. II. p. 103.

[3] The optative κίοι, cited by P. Knight as another synizesis, is never used as a monosyllable. The imputed reading is one of the many fallacies resulting from his monstrous theory of the digamma.

be at least equal proof of the more recent age of the Iliad. This counter-argument might be carried a good deal further. The contracted or monosyllabic forms in εων, for example (ἀγορέων[1], ἐφετμέων, ἀρέων), and in εω, ω (Πηληϊάδεω, Ἀτρείδεω, Ἀρμονίδεω, Ἄλτεω, Ἴδεω, χαλκέω, Μίνω[2]), predominate in the Iliad, and are comparatively rare in the Odyssey. Add to these πολεῖς for πολέες, πολέας, which occurs five times in the Iliad, and but once in the Odyssey; ὥριστος, for ὁ ἄριστος, eight times in the Iliad, and but once in the Odyssey; ἱππεῖς for ἱππῆες, so written in the Iliad, never in the Odyssey.

Another hypercritical distinction, founded by Knight on the use of the full and contracted forms γεραιά and γρηΰς, suggests a curious illustration of the elegant subtlety with which the Homeric dialect varies the forms even of the same word, to suit the varieties of its signification. The form γρηΰς occurs twice in the Iliad, in the more homely sense of "old woman;" γεραιά four times in the same poem, in the more dignified sense of "venerable matron." In the Odyssey the abbreviated form alone is used (varied once into γραίη), and exclusively, as in the Iliad, in the more homely signification of "old woman." That the difference of form is here connected with that of sound and sense, with the sonorous dignity of the one phrase and the quaint brevity of the other, must be palpable to every ear familiar with the niceties of the Greek tongue. Convert, for example, the phrase γρηῒ καμινοῖ of the Odyssey into γεραιῇ καμινοῖ, and the impropriety is obvious. The difference then resolves itself into this: that the subject of the one poem involved allusions to both classes of antient female, that of the other poem to one class alone.

The employment of the terms χρᾶν, χρᾶσθαι, in the sense of "consulting" and "delivering" oracles, has also been adduced as a novelty peculiar to the Odyssey. The answer to this objection is simply that, as no oracle is consulted in the Iliad, there was no room for the introduction of those terms. Stress has also been laid on the employment, in the two poems respectively, of different terms, χρήματα and κτήματα, for example, to express the same idea. The former of these words is found solely in the Odyssey, where it occurs fourteen times; while κτήματα is common to both poems, occurring forty-four times in the Odyssey, eighteen in the Iliad. As, however, the two terms are substantially the same in signification, as they have precisely the same metrical power, and differ but

[1] In the Odyssey, ἀγοράων.

[2] In the Odyssey, Μίνωα.

by a trifle in pronunciation, it is evident that wherever the one now stands, both sense and rhythm would equally admit the other. It may therefore reasonably be assumed that the uniformity of usage in the Iliad is the work of editors or diasceuasts, rather than of the original author. Granting, however, the phrase *χρήματα* to indicate a more complicated state of property, might not the fact of the general idea which it expresses occurring three times oftener in the Odyssey than in the Iliad account better than any more far-fetched hypothesis for its introduction in the latter poem alone? Even accident or caprice might suffice to explain many such incidental anomalies.

Another similar argument has been founded[1] on the occurrence of the term *χραισμεῖν*, "to succour," nineteen times in the Iliad, and not once in the Odyssey. Here it will be remarked that there are four terms more or less habitually used by Homer to denote the cognate ideas, "defend, succour, rescue." These terms are *ἀμύνειν*, *ἀλέξειν*, *ἀρήγειν*, and *χραισμεῖν*. The whole number of times that they occur collectively in the Iliad is one hundred and twenty-eight; in the Odyssey the whole number is but nineteen. *Ἀμύνειν* occurs seventy-six times in the Iliad, sixteen times in the Odyssey; *ἀλέξειν* sixteen times in the Iliad, thrice in the Odyssey; *ἀρήγειν* and *χραισμεῖν* are limited to the Iliad alone, where each occurs eighteen times. All that can here be inferred is the more martial character of the latter poem, involving a far more frequent introduction of words of martial import. That the nineteen examples of the Odyssey should happen to be confined to *ἀλέξειν* and *ἀμύνειν* may be the result of chance or caprice, but can supply no legitimate ground of speculative argument.

It has further been maintained, that certain terms of common occurrence are used in the two poems in broadly different senses; and that not in incidental passages, but with such constancy throughout each work as to reflect a corresponding difference of vernacular usage. The futility of this objection, in the only instance where it has been pointedly pressed, has already been shown in an article in the Rheinische Museum (1839, p. 491.), by the author of this work.

[1] Buttmann, Lexil. vol. I. p. 1.

APPENDIX E. (p. 173.)

MINOR APOCRYPHAL TEXTS OF THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY.

THE doubtful or disputed texts of this minor class have been enclosed within brackets by Wolf in his edition of the poems. The whole number of those so treated by him comprises ninety-three verses for the Iliad, and a hundred and fourteen for the Odyssey. In this collection, however, there are comparatively few passages which have been impugned by the antient grammarians on what can properly be called historical or "diplomatic" evidence; many have been stigmatised by Wolf on his own authority alone; others on so slender or so hollow a basis of antient grammatical speculation as can scarcely amount to classical authority. Considered with reference to the intrinsic value of the passages, the omission would in many cases be an improvement, as in the examples here subjoined:

Il. v. 808.; VIII. 528. 557.; IX. 694.; X. 84. 409.; XI. 515. 543.; XII. 175.; XIII. 731. 749.; XIV. 376.; XVI. 614.; XX. 135.; XXI. 570.; XXIII. 843.; XXIV. 514. 569.

Od. II. 191.; III. 493.; IV. 15. 285. 553. 726.; V. 133. 157. 337.; VIII. 303.; IX. 30. 483. 531.; X. 265. 456. 470.; XI. 92. 245. 343. 604. 631.; XII. 445.; XIII. 347. 428.; XIV. 515.; XV. 63. 295.; XVI. 101.; XXIII. 48. 320.; XXIV. 121. 158.

In the following cases the effect would be prejudicial to the spirit or connexion of the text:

Il. II. 168.; V. 342.; VII. 353. 380.; VIII. 73. 183. 189. 277. 466. 475. 548.; X. 531.; XI. 662.; XIII. 255.; XIV. 95. 114.; XVI. 381.; XVII. 585.; XIX. 94. 177.; XX. 312.; XXI. 471. 481. 570.; XXIII. 565. 757.; XXIV. 558. 790.

Od. I. 141.; IV. 57. 192.; V. 91. 110.; VI. 313.; VIII. 58.; X. 253. 329. 368. 430. 475.; XI. 38. 60. 157. 343. 525.; XII. 147.; XIII. 320.; XIV. 132.; XV. 45. 74. 139.; XVIII. 330. 393.; XIX. 130.; XXI. 109. 276.; XXIII. 127.

In the remainder the result would be comparatively unimportant:

Il. I. 265.; II. 206. 558. 670.; VIII. 235.; X. 191.; XV. 481. 610.; XVI. 689.; XIX. 365.; XXI. 158.; XXII. 121.; XXIV. 693.

Od. III. 78.; IV. 353. 511. 783.; XIV. 154.; XVII. 49.; XVIII. 59. 413.; XIX. 153.; XXI. 66.; XXII. 43.; XXIV. 143.

APPENDIX F. (p. 226.)

ON THE CHANGE FROM MONARCHAL TO REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT IN GREECE.

For the abolition of royalty in Bœotia, see Pausanias, IX. v. 8.; conf. IX. i. 2. For the same political crisis in Attica, see Pausanias, IV. v. 4.; Smith, Dict. of Biogr. art. Codrus. For the virtual abolition of royal power in Argos, see also Pausan. II. xix. 1.; hence the subsequent monarchy of Phidon in that state is designated a tyranny, as distinct from the constitutional royalty of Lacedæmon. In conformity with the first-cited text of Pausanias, kings in the Homeric sense seem not to have been known to the Bœotian poet Hesiod, Works and D. 258. sqq.; conf. 38. alibi. The title Basileus frequently occurs in the Works and Days, but in the plural number, and evidently denoting an aristocratical magistracy acting also as judges, similar to the Archons of Athens, or the Prytanes of Corinth and Corcyra. The responsibility of those Basileis to the Demus, or public, for their conduct, is also inculcated by the same poet. In the Homeric hymn to Ceres [1], the most antient probably in the collection, the government of Eleusis is described as a magistracy of six Basileis, uncontrolled by any presiding power. Similar, it may be presumed, to the magisterial kings of Bœotia and Attica were those who swayed the early destinies of the Ionian republics. Their royal dignity is stated, in what appear to be the more authentic notices on the subject, to have been extinguished almost immediately after the settlement of the colonies. In other more popular accounts it is described as remaining hereditary, in a sacerdotal probably rather than a civil form, in the legendary heroic lines of Codridæ, Glaucidæ, and others, just as the office of rhapsodist in Chios was hereditary in the family of Homeridæ.[2] The names indeed of most of the sons, brothers, or grandsons of Codrus, who act as leaders of the Ionian migration, and from whom the Ionian noble families boasted descent, have nearly as much the air of purely fabulous eponyme titles as those of Hellen, Ion, or Dorus. Such are Apœcus, the "colonist;"

[1] 150. sqq.

[2] Herodot. I. cxlvii.; Strab. XIV. p. 633.; Steph. Byz. v. *Βίννα*, vulg. *Βιννηΐα*.

Nauclus, the "navigator;" Damasichthon, the "subduer of territory;" Damasus; Prometheus, the "provident;" with Cnopus, and Ægyptus son of Nileus, titles significant probably of "Cecropian" origin.[1]

The remains of the earliest extant Ionian poets in the first century of the Olympic æra, of Callinus, Archilochus, Simonides, with the notices of their own lives or of the vicissitudes of public affairs during or previous to their times, exhibit a purely republican state of society; and the term "tyrant," stigmatising monarchal rule, in contradistinction to republican government, as unpopular or unjust, is of familiar occurrence in their writings.[2] Even the legendary biographies of Homer, though comprising probably some of the more authentic traditions concerning primitive social life in the Ionian states, represent their form of government as republican. The poet's patrons are there but wealthy citizens, occasionally, when acting as judges[3], styled "Basileis," in the magisterial sense. The only genuine kings mentioned are those of Phrygia and Lydia. Of monarchal government in Crete there is no trace whatever, except in the poems of Homer.[4]

APPENDIX G. (p. 257.)

ON THE COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF THE EPIC CYCLE.

Hitherto the view taken, in the text, of the nature and extent of the Epic Cycle has been substantially the same as that so ably illustrated by the author's valued friend Professor Welcker, in his excellent work on the subject. The above list of poems will be found, however, in respect to the ante-Troïc portion of the series, to differ from that of Welcker in several important particulars. This is chiefly owing to the author's inability to attach the same degree of value or importance as Welcker has done to the Borgian tablet, as an authority relative to the contents of the Cycle, or to admit the validity of his restoration of the missing parts of that inscrip-

[1] Strab. sup. cit.; Pausan. VII. ii. 7.

[2] Archil. frg. 21. (Bergk); Simonid. frg. VI. 69. (Bergk).

[3] Herodot. vit. Hom. XI. XII. XXXI.; Plut. vit. Hom. A. § 3.

[4] Conf. Hermann, Lehrb. der Griech. Staatsalt. § 55. sqq.; Ulrici, Gesch. der Hell. Dichtk. vol. I. p. 191. sqq.

tion. The author's objections to Welcker's views are much the same as those urged by K. O. Müller in his criticism[1] on the work in which those views are explained. The author cannot admit that either the "Amazonian war" or "Atthis," supplied conjecturally by Welcker as one of the erased names of the tablet, or the epithet of "Chian," added by him on equally conjectural grounds to the still existing name of Cinæthon, formed part of the entire monument. Nor, even had an "Amazonian war" been included in the list of the tablet, would that circumstance have been any sufficient proof that such a poem had ever found a place in the Homeric Cycle. Welcker's argument seems to proceed throughout on the understanding, that, if in any such inscription as the Borgian tablet a certain number of the poems mentioned can be identified as Cyclic poems (the Œdipodia, for example, and the Thebaïs, in the present case), the others in the same list must also be considered as members of the Cycle. The inadequacy, however, of any such evidence in any such case is sufficiently clear from the fact, that in the Tabula Iliaca, the most remarkable document of this kind, the poem to which the most conspicuous position is assigned is the lyric Ilii-Persis of Stesichorus, a work which could never possibly have found a place in the Epic Cycle. The "Danaïdes," consequently, which occupies a prominent place in the preserved part of the Borgian tablet, can have no claim on that account alone to the honour awarded to it by Welcker of a place in the Homeric collection. Still less pretension can it advance on any other account, as neither treating of a subject possessing the smallest claim to the character of Homeric, nor being ever alluded to as a Cyclic poem, or as the work of a Cyclic author, in any extant notice on the subject. It has therefore been omitted in the list given in the text. The author's reasons for excluding the Minyas, identified by Welcker with the Phocaïs, and inserted by him between the Epigoni and the Œchalia, will be given in the part of the text devoted to the two former works, which the author considers as quite distinct poems. The only very important matter of fact supplied by the Borgian inscription, as bearing on the history of the Cycle, is the notice of the Homeric poet Cinæthon as author of the Œdipodia; a notice which tends to confirm the otherwise plausible claims of that poem to a place in the collection.

[1] Zimmermann, Zeitschr. für Alterthumswiss. 1835, p. 1162. sqq.

APPENDIX H. (p. 264.)

ON CINÆTHON OF LACEDÆMON AND CYNÆTHUS OF CHIOS.

CINÆTHON flourished, according to the received chronology, in 765 B. C.[1], and ranks, accordingly, next in antiquity to Arctinus, among the successors of Homer and Hesiod. His name, under slight variety of form, is common to Cynæthus of Chios, celebrated by Hippostratus as a rhapsodist at Syracuse in the LXIXth Olympiad, and the accredited author of the Delian hymn to Apollo, as will be seen further in treating of that poem. Welcker (Ep. Cycl. p. 237. sqq.) endeavours to show the latter date to be corrupt, and that Cinæthon and Cynæthus represent but a single Chian Homerid of the earlier period. To this view, however, there are insuperable objections. Apart from Welcker's somewhat summary disposal of the existing numerals of Hippostratus, the title of "Rhapsodist," habitually given to Cynæthus, and never to Cinæthon, who is as pointedly described as "Poet,"[2] forms so marked a distinction between the two by the authors who mention them, as to be incompatible with any hypothetical theory of their identity. It could never have occurred to these authors to connect the title Rhapsodist in so specific a manner with the name of a primitive bard of the IIIrd Olympiad. The further description, by the same authorities, of Cynæthus as one of the first rhapsodists who systematically corrupted or interpolated the Homeric poems, while quite appropriate in regard to a professor of the Pisistratid æra, were totally inapplicable to a Cyclic poet of the eighth century B. C. Nor were it easy to comprehend, on Welcker's view, how the inventors of this supposed fictitious Cinæthon should have had recourse, for his equally fictitious title, to Lacedæmon, a city of all others least fertile in such characters. Conf. note on Delian hymn, supra, p. 328.

APPENDIX J. (p. 296.)

ON THE POETICAL MERITS OF THE CYCLIC POEMS.

THE composition and style of the Cyclic poems have found a zealous and able, though not, we apprehend, a successful, vindicator

[1] Clinton, Fast. Hell. vol. I. p. 155. [2] Conf. Clint. loc. cit.

in Welcker.[1] That distinguished critic, uninfluenced by the various facts or authorities, from Aristotle downwards, appealed to in the text, maintains that several of these poems not only possessed great merit, but even rivalled the Iliad and Odyssey in epic unity, and in other higher excellences of the genuine Homeric minstrelsy. As a test of the success of his argument, it might almost suffice to state, that his extensive reading and thorough insight into all the details of this head of subject have not enabled him to adduce a single passage of any antient critic unequivocably favourable to his own opinion. His argument has, in fact, been restricted solely or chiefly to attempts to explain away certain passages of Callimachus, Horace, and other critics, where the term Cyclic is used in a satirical or contemptuous sense, as alluding, not to the old poems of the Homeric Cycle, but to certain works of a later period, which he assumes, on more or less valid grounds, to have been also occasionally entitled "Cyclic." Even admitting this line of argument to have been completely successful, all that it would establish would be, that the poets of the Homeric Cycle had not been actually ridiculed by those critics. But this result were still a very slender basis on which to found an opinion as to the great excellence of the same poets, in the face of the, to say the least, disparaging terms in which Aristotle alludes to them, and of the indifference to their merits displayed by the other great critics of antiquity. We cannot, however, acquiesce in the reasoning by which Welcker would persuade us that Horace, in his expression "Scriptor cyclicus olim," "Cyclic writer of old," alludes to any other than "the old Cyclic poets," in the simple and natural sense of the terms. We are still, also, inclined to abide by the opinion expressed in the text, that the same Horace, in characterising the particular Cyclic writer whom he has in view as one who "began by announcing his intention of singing the Trojan war and the fortunes of Priam," alludes to the author of the Little Iliad; although we readily admit that the allusion may be conceived in a spirit of severe or even of harsh sarcasm. The analysis of the action of the Cypria in the text above, added to the authority of Aristotle, must also outweigh Welcker's objections to the belief that the other poem alluded to by Horace[2] as commencing the history of the Trojan war from Leda's twin eggs is the Cypria. Still less can we subscribe to Welcker's proposal to

[1] Der Epische Cyclus, p. 110. sqq. [2] Epist. ad Pis. 148.

interpret the epigram of Callimachus on the Œchalia of Creophylus in a sense laudatory of that poem or of its author. All that Callimachus[1] appears to say is, "that it was indeed a mighty honour for a second-rate poem, by a second-rate author, to obtain the title of Homeric:"

> Κρεωφύλου πόνος εἰμὶ . . . Ὁμήρειον δὲ καλεῦμαι
> γράμμα· Κρεωφύλῳ, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα!

APPENDIX K. (p. 390.)

ON THE SUPPOSED LOST PORTIONS OF HESIOD'S WORKS AND DAYS.

THE most curious of these passages is that of Manilius[2], who, in an appeal to the Bœotian bard's agricultural science, describes him as treating of an extensive range of subjects scarcely if at all touched on in his extant poem, such as the soils or exposure best adapted to the culture of the vine, of the olive, or of corn; the grafting of fruit trees; with the worship and attributes of the sylvan deities male and female. There can be no reasonable doubt that this is a mere random apostrophe by the Roman poet to "Hesiod," in his capacity of classical eponyme or patriarch of the science of husbandry.

The supposition that a poem so universally popular and familiar as the Works and Days was at every period of antiquity should, as assumed in Thiersch's theory, have become extinct in its genuine form between the age of Manilius and that of Plutarch; and that its place should have been occupied in the interval by a garbled abstract of its former contents, seems in itself something almost too wildly improbable to be seriously entertained. In the age of Proclus, the most copious extant scholiast of the poem, the commentaries not only of Plutarch, but of the great Alexandrian critics, Aristarchus, Aristophanes, and Zenodotus, were still extant, and are copiously cited by that scholiast. (See Scholl. Gaisford, passim; conf. Göttl. Præf. p. xxxii. sqq.) But no where in these citations is there a symptom of the same Alexandrian critics having found more in the text than Proclus did himself, while in several instances verses are now read which he states them to have con-

[1] Epigr. VI Tauchn. [2] Astron. II. 19. sq.

demned. Nor, in the vast number of incidental quotations of or appeals to Hesiod by antient authors, has a single verse or passage been specifically cited as from the Works and Days which does not now form part of its text. These facts are in themselves sufficient to outweigh a multitude of such random generalities as the passage of Manilius, or others similar, occurring in the works of popular Roman writers.

Nor can any thing be more fallacious than the proposal of Göttling and other modern critics, to assign to this supposed original and more comprehensive Works and Days all the existing fragments or citations of Hesiod in which reference is made either to rural affairs generally, or to particular plants, vegetables, drugs, and the like. The allusions by Homer in the Odyssey to the herb Moly, and to the use of dung as manure, with those occurring in both his poems to many other interesting matters connected with rural husbandry, sufficiently prove that even in works of the purely heroic order ample scope was afforded for the introduction of such notices. How much more likely then were they to find a place in the voluminous body of didactic poems which, besides the "Works," passed current under the title Hesiod.

Of the citations in question, those relative to the herbs Polion and Hippomanes (Göttl. frgg. XV—XVIII.) belonged probably to the Ornithomantia or the Melampodia. Frg. XIV. (Göttl.) has no claim to a place in the collection, the words "præcipua voluptate" being evidently but Pliny's free translation (after Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. VII. ii.) of Hesiod's *μέγ' ὄνειαρ*; showing the quotation consequently to be made from an existing (41.), not a lost, passage of the "Works." In frg. XII. from Fulgentius, the corruption of the text places it beyond the pale of profitable criticism. It seems to contain vestiges of an elegiac distich :

Πρῶτος σταφυλάων
εὐλακτιστάων αἱματόεντι δρόσῳ.

For any more detailed examination of this question, as also of that concerning another supposed poem of Hesiod under the title of "Ἔργα μεγάλα, or "Great Works," altogether distinct from the existing "Works and Days," the reader is referred to Marckscheffel's valuable treatise on the Hesiodic fragments. The whole subject has there been fully and ably discussed[1], with results

[1] p. 202. sqq.

substantially the same as those to which the author had been led, on the same data, before obtaining access to that treatise.

APPENDIX L. (p. 403.)

ON THE LYRE AND THE LAUREL BRANCH IN EPIC RECITAL.

A DISTINCTION has been drawn by various commentators, antient and modern[1], between the modes of recital proper to the respective minstrelsies of Homer and Hesiod, which distinction has also been made the basis of an argument bearing on the relative age of the two poets. Homer, it has been said, with the heroic school of which he was the chief, sang or chanted his compositions to the chords of the lyre. Hesiod, on the other hand, simply recited or declaimed, without musical accompaniment, holding in his hand, in place of the lyre, a wand or rod, as his emblem of office. In support of this view, appeal has been made to a passage of the Theogony[2], where the Muses, as a symbol of the poetical genius with which they inspire its author, present him with a laurel branch. This text has been brought into connexion with the later custom of persons, when reciting poetry on convivial occasions, bearing a similar branch or rod; from the Greek name of which rod, rhabdos or rhapis, some would also derive that of "rhapsodist," or professional rehearser of epic poems.[3] Hesiod's art, therefore, it has been inferred, may be considered as a transition from the pure epic minstrelsy to the later less genial style of performance. This, however, appears a somewhat overstrained interpretation of the passage of the Theogony. The laurel may there with better reason be taken as the type of poetical recital generally, whether with or without the lyre, for such it was at every period, than of any distinct class of performance. Homer himself frequently appears in his classical effigies with a laurel wand in his hand instead of a lyre. There is no doubt something plausible in the general argument, that the transition from the more musical to the more familiar mode of delivery would be likely to take place in connexion with a style of poetry itself of a more homely and

[1] Pausan. IX. xxx. 2., X. vii. 2.; Nitzsch, Hist. Hom. p. 139.; Welcker, Ep. Cycl. p. 358. sqq.

[2] 30.

[3] Welck. loc. cit.

familiar character. It must be remembered, however, that many of the Hesiodic poems, inclusive of the Theogony itself, where this notice of the supposed rhapsodist rod occurs, are as essentially heroic in their style and materials as the Iliad and Odyssey, and were as dependant for their full effect on the aid of lyric accompaniment; so that, giving their authors credit for any reasonable degree of antiquity, it seems very improbable that such aid should have been withheld.

APPENDIX M. (p. 407.)

ON THE SUPPOSED LOST PORTIONS OF HESIOD'S THEOGONY.

In explanation of several of these anomalies recourse has been had by modern commentators to the same hypothesis already noticed in treating of the Works and Days; that each poem, namely, as it now exists, is but an abridgement or epitome of the original work. The main argument urged in favour of this view, the citation by antient authors, apparently from one or other of the poems, of passages no longer extant in their text, if more specious, perhaps, in respect to the Theogony than to the sister poem, is hardly more conclusive. The point, apart from its immediate bearings on the text of the Theogony, is the more deserving of somewhat closer attention, as tending to show generally the vague and problematical nature of many of these incidental appeals by classical authors to the works of their predecessors, and the danger, consequently, of founding theories upon such evidence.

Manilius, in the same passage above appealed to as containing a supposed allusion to the Works and Days, also cites Hesiod, with apparent reference to the Theogony, as narrating, among other matters, the second birth of Bacchus from the thigh of Jupiter:

> Hesiodus memorat Divos Divomque parentes,
> Et Chaos enixum terras, orbemque sub illo
> Infantem, et primos titubantia sidera partus;
> Titanasque senes, Jovis et cunabula magni,
> Atque iterum patrio nascentem corpore Bacchum.[1]

In the extant Works, however, the god of the grape is described simply as begotten by Jupiter of Semele. Hence, it is urged, the

[1] Astronom. II. 12.

passage of the original poem relating to the second nativity of the divine infant must have been ejected subsequently to the time of Manilius. The inference is fair, assuming the testimony of Manilius to be true to the letter. That this, however, is neither a necessary nor a reasonable assumption, will appear from a comparison of the opening lines of the existing Theogony with the second verse of the text of Manilius above quoted, in which Hesiod is made to describe Earth as the progeny of Chaos. The genuine character of those opening lines has never been, nor can it reasonably be, called in question. We find, however, in them no trace of Earth having been generated by Chaos. Chaos, Earth, Tartarus, and Eros are described as springing into existence spontaneously, in independant succession. This, in fact, is a peculiarity of the Hesiodic system which distinguishes it from the Orphic and others in popular vogue. It has accordingly been pointed out as such by other commentators[1], who had the original text of the Theogony before them in writing; and it seems very doubtful how far that may have been the case with Manilius. The further description by that poet, in the above text, of the globe or sphere as in a state of infancy, and of the parturition of the various stars, finds also no parallel in the Theogony. Such vagueness in these essential particulars gives ample colour to the suspicion formerly expressed, that the Roman astronomical poet here uses the name "Hesiod" merely as the poetical type or standard of the classical theology, with the details of which the same Manilius was more familiar in the text of other more popular repertories of his own age.

A similar discrepancy of Hesiodic legend occurs in the case of the Hydra and other kindred monsters. Nicander[2], in his Theriaca, quotes "Hesiod" as deriving the origin of the whole race of venomous animals from "the blood of the Titans." The scholiast on this text plainly taxes his author with falsehood or error; no such passage being to be found in the works of Hesiod. In support of Nicander's credit appeal has, however, been made to another scholiast[3], who represents the Hesiodic Theogony as having described "the genealogy of the gods; Erebus and Chaos; Heaven and Earth; Cronus and Jupiter; the Hecaton-Chiras (or Titans); the battle of the Giants, and the issue from their blood of many venomous monsters; of the Hydra slain by Hercules, of the

[1] Plato, Sympos. p. 178.; Pausan. IX. XXVII.

[2] Theriaca, 8. sqq. [3] Ap. Lobeck. Aglaoph. p. 567.

Chimæra slain by Bellerophon, of the Gorgon slain by Perseus, and of the three-headed dog" [Cerberus]. Here, again, the question at issue is not one of mere omission, but of entire discrepancy; for the existing Theogony, in a passage of unexceptionably Hesiodic character[1], derives the Hydra, Chimæra, and Cerberus from an amour of Typhaon and Echidna. The same passage gives fifty, not three heads alone, to Cerberus. It must, therefore, be assumed either that a passage of the Theogony, tracing the birth of the Hydra and her fellow-monsters to "the blood of the Titans," had been ejected, and another, with a different version of the story, inserted in its stead; or that the original text contained both accounts, and, by consequence, was guilty of a self-contradiction; or, thirdly, that in the different editions of the poet different versions of the same fable were preferred; or, finally, that the whole dilemma originates in a misunderstanding on the part of Nicander and of the secondary authorities on the same side, all probably drawing from a common source of error, and imputing to Hesiod, or to the Theogony, statements contained in other popular compendia of mythological science. The latter alternative is certainly the most reasonable of the whole. It may be added that the commentaries of Aristophanes, Aristarchus, and other leading Alexandrian critics who flourished prior to the age of Nicander, are freely cited in the extant scholia to the Theogony; and it would certainly be very surprising, had the text of the poem, as known to those critics, differed in so remarkable a degree from that extant in later times, that the same scholia should betray no knowledge whatever of any such difference.

APPENDIX N. (p. 415.)

ON THE PROŒMIA OF THE THEOGONY.

This theory, however, appears to have been somewhat exaggerated in its application by its acute and ingenious proposer, Hermann.[2] Not less than seven of these supposed separate exordia have been set apart by him; a number which seems at least double that

[1] 306. sqq.

[2] Epistol. ad Ilgen. in Præf. ad Hymnos Homer., and ap. Gaisf. Præf. ad Theogon.

required to explain the difficulty. Nor can that number be elicited but by assuming a process of mutilation and repatching on the part of the antient compiler, almost as improbable as that the whole mass should be the genuine production of a single poet. It has been but rarely and with diffidence, in the course of this history, that we have ventured to expatiate in the field of subtle, and for the most part profitless, criticism to which such questions belong. Admitting, however, the validity of the theory itself, three of these elementary procemia were the utmost number of which it could reasonably warrant the assumption. They might be distributed as follows:

I.	comprising verses	1— 4	and	22—52.
II.	„	1—21	„	75—103.
III.	„	1	„	53—74.

The points of distinction are here marked out with obvious plainness by the three leading incoherencies of the text, at vv. 22. 53. 75. The opening lines, as in Hermann's arrangement, are admitted as more or less common to each subdivision. Each also combines the two conventional heads of celebration essential to all such epic exordia, the one addressed directly to the Muses, the other indirectly to Jupiter and the rest of the gods.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page

21. To the parallel passages cited in note 1, add Il. xx. 234. sq., compared with Od. xv. 250. sq.

40. To the passages of the Odyssey illustrative of the mixed affection of grief and joy, add xix. 471.

254. Note 1. See Additions and Corrections to Vol. I. p. 213.

363. sqq. If the scholiast on Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. vi. vii. may be trusted, the original Margites was known to, and quoted by,

Archilochus. This would guarantee the poem an antiquity of at least 700 B.C. Conf. Bergk. Poett. lyrr. p. 495.; Fragm. Archil. 142.

The fact that the iambics were introduced into the Margites, not alternately with the hexameters, but interspersed here and there on appropriate occasions to impart humorous point to the story, is stated by Hephæstion (p. 112. Gaisf.) as well as exemplified by the existing fragments of the poem. The citation, by the same Hephæstion (loc. cit.), of a hexameter text of Simonides, a poet of much earlier date than either Aristotle or Pigres, in which text iambics were similarly interspersed, supplies further indirect evidence of both the antiquity and the genuine character of the iambic element of the Margites.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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